THE THIRD WALL

OF JERUSALEM

AN ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS

BY

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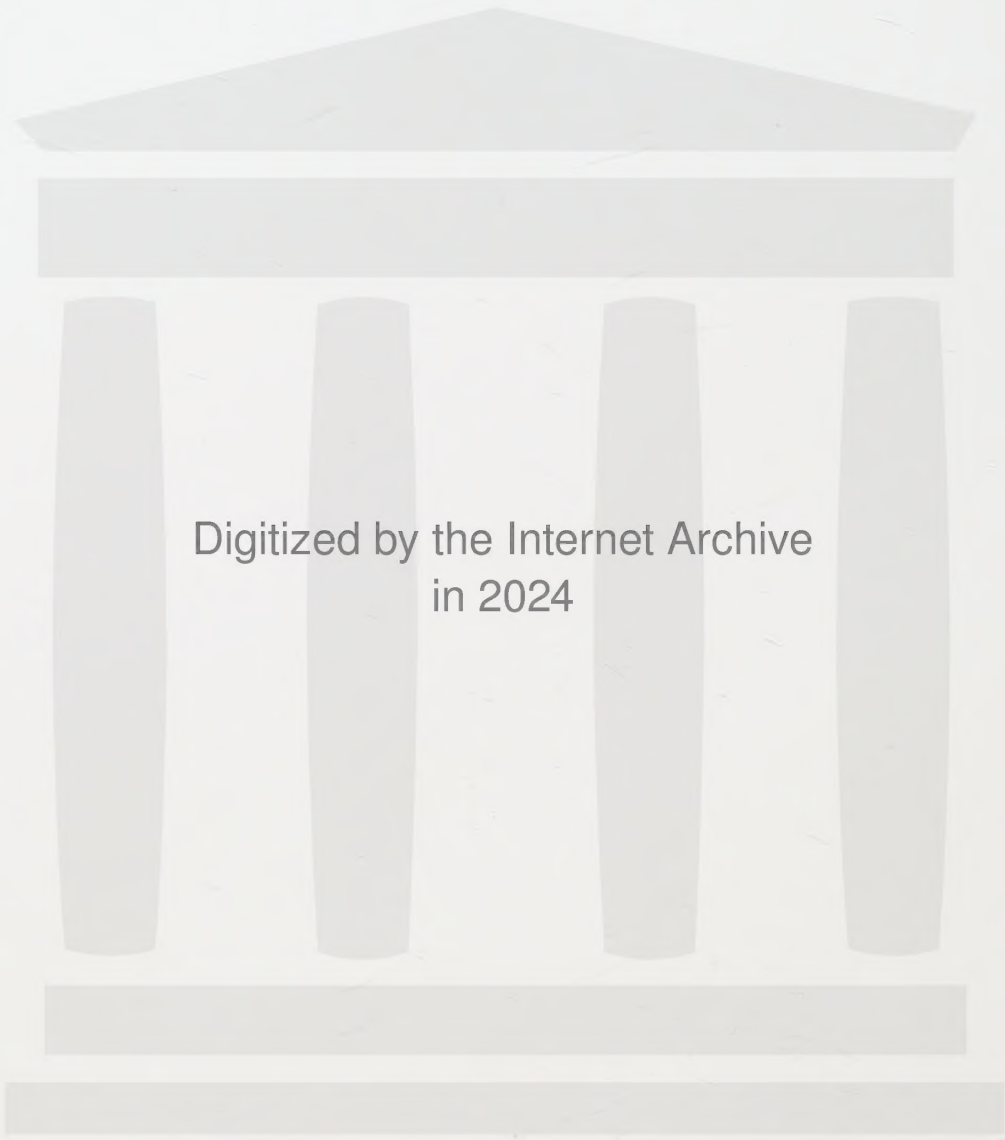
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The excavations which form the subject of the following pages were started originally by the Palestine Jewish Exploration Society, and continued later with the cooperation of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. At the time the work was begun, the Society was in a precarious financial position, and it was only due to the keen interest taken in the excavations by the Jewish community in Palestine, that they could be proceeded with. In this connexion, it is a pleasant duty for us to express our thanks to the Palestine Zionist Executive in Jerusalem, and to the Municipality of Tel Aviv and some of its residents, among them Mr. Y. Grazovsky, and to Mrs. E. N. Mohl of Jerusalem. Towards the second campaign, contributions were received from the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine, and more especially—through the kind offices of President Cyrus Adler and Professor A. A. Neuman—from the Dropsie College, Philadelphia, which also defrayed a large part of the cost of publication from a fund supplied by the sons of the late Louis Edward Levy in memory of their father; and also from Mr. Henry Morgenthau, formerly Ambassador of the United States at Constantinople. To all of them we would herewith tender our warmest thanks.

Throughout the three campaigns, members of the archaeological schools in Jerusalem showed great interest in the progress of the work, frequently visiting the field and from time to time publishing short notices on the operations in reviews and journals.

The excavation field, extending as it does over a wide stretch of land, much to our regret, undoubtedly caused a certain amount of inconvenience to the neighbours and the owners of the plots through which the wall runs. Yet we met with scarcely any objection in the course of our work. We therefore avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our appreciation to all concerned, and notably to Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, M.B.E., Mayor of Jerusalem, to the Very Rev. Bishop R. Mac Innes, D. D., Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, to the Messrs. Valero and to Mr. H.L. Larsson, the Swedish Consul in Jerusalem.

The plans, as they appear on the plates, are the work of the architect Mr. R. Abramowitz, Jerusalem. Measurements and drawings supplied by Messrs. N. Schwartz and P. Romanoff served as a basis for Sections 1-4 and measurements by Mr. M. Vogel for the remaining sections. To Mr. E. F. Beaumont, of the American Colony, Jerusalem, we are indebted for sketches (Fig. 13) and photographs (Figs. 7, 16, 42), to the Very Rev. Father R. Savignac of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française for photographs (Figs. 38, 39), and to Mr. D. Ben-Dor for a plan (Fig. 33). Other photographs were taken by Mr. J. Ben-Dov.

Our special thanks are due to J. W. Crowfoot, Esq., Director of the British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem, who has most obligingly read the manuscript of the greater part of this account and has given us the benefit of his valuable suggestions.

We regard it as our duty to remember on this occasion our faithful foreman Menahem Sawlani who fell during the disturbances in August 1929.

INTRODUCTION.

In the course of road repairs in the winter of 1925, a huge drafted block was struck at the junction of the Nablus Road and Richard Cœur-de-Lion Street, which passes in front of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. The Department of Antiquities laid the stone bare and left it in situ exposed to view.

The discovery of this stone (Fig. 1), with drafted margins and a central boss, typical of Herodian masonry, reopened the old discussion as to the course of the Third Wall of ancient Jerusalem. Among the archaeologists who saw the find at the time, some were of the opinion that the stone was merely the remains of an old quarry, and that — similar to stones to be found in the numerous quarries outside the walls of Jerusalem, which are only partly disengaged — it had been left in place without being used for the purpose for which it was originally intended. Others again expressed the view that this stone belonged to a wall, portions of which had been noted during the last century at other points, west of the new find.

The area between the Mea Shearim quarter and the Nablus Road, and thence eastward as far as the American School of Oriental Research, was until recently not built upon, having been the site of an olive-grove that was almost entirely cut down during the Great War. The Committee of the Palestine Jewish Exploration Society therefore de-

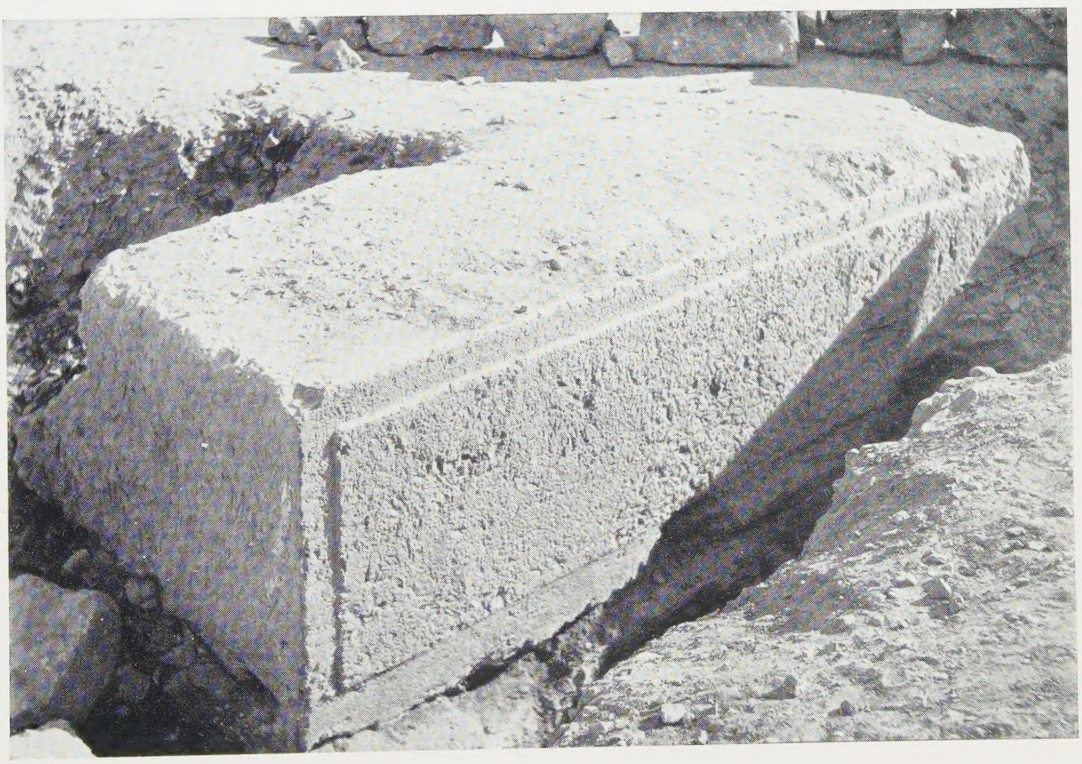


Fig. 1. Stone at the junction of Nablus Road and Richard Coeur-de-Lion Street.

cided to excavate this whole stretch before building activities made excavation impossible in order to put an end to the conflicting opinions put forward on the subject of the «Third Wall» in the course of the past two centuries. The Committee entrusted two of their members—the present authors—with this work and, in accordance with the decision of the Advisory Board on the 24th May, 1925, obtained from the Department of Antiquities a permit to excavate.

At the same time, 'Abd as-Salam Eff. an-Nashashibi, one of the owners of this tract, was given a permit by the Municipality to erect a house on this plot of land, opposite the Palestine Archaeological Museum. While the trenches of the foundations of this house were being dug, the workmen struck a Byzantine mosaic in the northern section of the plot.

The Director of Antiquities immediately had the work stopped, but allowed the owner to continue with the laying of the foundations on the remaining portion of the plot. The present authors made a point of daily visiting the field lying on the proposed line of their future excavations. A few days later the tops of two dressed stones came to view in the trenches, in the southern section of the plot. The Director of Antiquities then gave instructions for all building operations to cease, whereupon excavations were started at once.

At this spot the foundations of a massive wall of big dressed stones were found, on the northern edge of which was a Byzantine pavement of coloured mosaic. Above this there was a late Arab structure, and to the south of the wall a cistern, the vaulted roof of which rested on the edge of the wall so that the latter formed one of the sides of the cistern. To the west of this portion there were the foundations of a rectangular tower projecting to the north. To the west of the tower the wall continued, but less well preserved than the part previously referred to, and poorer, also, in the dressing of its stones and the technique of its masonry. From here the wall continued till we struck a worked rock facing north-west.

Before the excavation of this portion was finished, Prof. Garstang, then Director of Antiquities, asked us to make soundings at the other end of the field close to the Nablus Road, with a view to establishing the course of the wall there, as the authorities were contemplating building a road across this field. A series of parallel trenches in a north-southerly direction revealed the foundations of the wall continuing in line with the sections previously discovered. On one portion of the wall there were traces of a Byzantine building, consisting of a courtyard covered with slabs of stone, of several rooms paved with plain mosaics, and having various water-channels. Underneath this building two tombs were also found cut in the worked rock, which formed a portion of the wall.

In the course of this work we almost reached the isolated stone discovered in the course of the road repairs. It was now obvious that this stone projected out from the wall to the north, and belonged to a tower at this spot.

The Nablus Road having been reached, the work could not be continued to the east. We therefore decided to excavate on the other side of the road, at the big pool to the north of the

Fig. 2. Northern wall of the pool east of Nablus Road.

Dominican Monastery. Three sides of this pool are lined with small stones, whereas the fourth, the north side, is formed by huge blocks of stone set on a worked rock (Fig. 2). On examination this wall proved to run almost in line with the wall previously unearthed to the west of the Nablus Road. In the course of the excavations the whole line of the wall forming the northern side of the pool was uncovered, and also its continuation to the east. Here, too, we found traces of later structures, among them those of an Arab building, that may in its time have served as a soap factory, of water-channels and a cistern. This was the end of our first season (middle of June to the beginning September, 1925).

Early in August 1926, thanks to the help extended by the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and the Dropsie College, Philadelphia, the excavations were taken up again close to the spot at which they had been started in 1925, on the grounds of the present Swedish School. The continuation of the wall to the west was traced for a few more metres in this plot, and Byzantine tombs were found cut in the same field. We also came upon remains

Fig. 3. Portion of Wall near the American School of Oriental Research, as it appeared on the 31st October, 1926.

of a large building, probably Arabic in date, although portions of it, or at all events some of the stones used, appear to be of an earlier period.

Having finished this short campaign, we intended to interrupt the work for a time and to publish the results so far obtained. Meanwhile, the Municipality of Jerusalem started building Saladin Road, between Herod's Gate and the Tombs of the Kings. During this work, at a spot just to the west of the American School of Oriental Research, the tops of large stones came to view close to the surface of the ground (Fig. 3). The present writers were both away from Jerusalem on that day, so that the credit of first seeing these remains is due to Prof. Butin, then Acting Director of the American School of Oriental Research, and to Miss Fitch, a member of that School. They informed the Department of Antiquities, and instructions were immediately issued by Prof. Garstang for the road-building

operations to be suspended. On the following day Dr. Sukenik returned to Jerusalem, visited the site, and found these stones to be in a line with the wall previously discovered. This discovery led to a change of plan and to the immediate resumption of the excavations without waiting for the report of the previous season's work to be published. As Dr. Sukenik was obliged to leave Jerusalem, Mr. Ory, of the Department of Antiquities, meanwhile cleared some of the stones just mentioned and cut a few trenches on the premises of the American School.

The third campaign was started after Dr. Sukenik's return on 14th November, 1926, and lasted till 25th March, 1927. In the course of these excavations it became clear that the large stones blocked the entrance to a gateway. To the west of the latter, foundations of a rectangular room with an adjacent tower were found. To the west of the tower the

Fig. 4. Big stones embedded in the present City Wall, west of Herod's Gate.

rock was cut to a depth of more than 7 metres for the whole length of the tower. Here, too, traces of Byzantine and Arab buildings and also of Arab tombs were found to rest on the foundations of the wall. During the excavation other portions of rock-cuttings for foundations were uncovered to the west of the western tower. Between the pool mentioned above and the cistern, a well-preserved remnant of the wall with two courses of stones and a projecting tower were discovered. The latter had been adapted at some later date for use as a cistern.

In addition to the excavation on this plot, the immediate neighbourhood of the isolated stone on the Nablus Road was excavated. It became clear that the tower on the Nablus Road continued mainly to the west of this stone.

Soundings were also made near the first tower to the west of Herod's Gate in the present City Wall and there, underneath the big stones jutting out of the Wall in a north-south direction (Fig. 4), we came upon a foundation layer similar in size and technique to those found in other parts of our excavations. On the other side of the City Wall, a trench more than 8 metres deep was cut through the accumulated rubbish with a view to ascertaining whether these foundations were traceable on the inside of the City Wall. This work had to be interrupted, however, before any results could be obtained.

REMAINS OF THE WALL.

In describing the remains of the Wall we have thought it best to proceed not chronologically — see Introduction p. 7 — but topographically from west to east, starting with the grounds of the Swedish School.

The westernmost point, in which traces of this ancient wall were found, is at the south-east corner of the junction of the Street of the Prophets and St. Paul's Road, near the building in which the Régie Ottomane was formerly housed. [1])

SECTION 1.

(Key Map E 2—3, Sheets 3, 4.)

On the grounds of the Swedish School we found no layers of stone, but merely remains of the bedding on which the Wall had rested, similar to the bedding found in another portion of the excavations further to the east, in the middle of the field between this point and Nablus Road. The bedding itself was to a large extent destroyed and only a few remnants were left of it here and there on a line about 32 m. long and slightly over 4.50 m. wide. At the north-eastern end of this line three tombs were found cut in the rock which formed the foundation of the Wall. Potsherds found in them belong to the Byzantine period. Remains of a big building to the south of this line are of a much later date (see Chapter: "Remains of Late Buildings").

Between this field and the remains of the Wall discovered further east there is a public thoroughfare which made excavations impossible.

SECTION 2.

(Key Map E 4—6, Sheets 3, 4.)

This section of the Wall on which we started our excavations, as mentioned in the previous chapter, extends along a line of 56 m. on both sides of a tower projecting northward from the Wall. In the whole of this area, the lowest course of the wall runs on uninterruptedly; at only a few points odd stones were missing on one face or the other. The width of the Wall varies from 4 m. to 4.50.

The portions of the Wall on each side of the tower are of different masonry. On the southern or inner face the part to the E. of the tower is built of stones of one type,

[1]) The building is situated on a line extending from the remains of the Wall found by us in the grounds of the Swedish School to those found some tens of years ago in the grounds of the Italian School, No. 151, St. Paul's Road, and to the west of that School.

Fig. 5. Sheet 3. E 5, 6. Southern face of Wall prior to removal of earth.

Fig. 6. Sheet 3, E 5, 6. Southern face of Wall after removal of earth.

dressed with a clear boss and drafted margin. Owing to the cistern which was built, as it seems, during the Byzantine period, abutting on this face of the Wall, it was possible to see clearly the way the Wall was constructed. A layer of small stones, earth-mortar and rubble, up to 80 cm. thick, covers the rock, levelling unevennesses in the surface and serving as a bedding for the lowest course of stone. From this bedding rose the body of the Wall, of which in this, as in most other parts, there was only one course of seven stones preserved. The height of this course was 1.20 m., the length of the stones varying from 60 cm. to 2.12 m. (Figs. 5,6). The face of the stones in the centre of this portion had been destroyed owing to the cistern abutting on it. Their upper corner was cut back and the bosses were cut away and smoothed. This is particularly noticeable on the second stone from the east, which had a considerable portion of its boss and draft left intact, and only at the point where the cistern started, had boss and draft been hammered away. The bosses were obviously cut in order to smooth the surface and prepare it for the application of the cement, with which the inside of the cistern had to be lined. The groove in the upper corner of the stones served as a springer for the roof of the cistern, of which small parts were found in situ during the excavations. Other parts of the roof had fallen into the cistern owing to the weight of the layer of earth above it. Roots of olive trees planted all over this field, had penetrated deeply and contributed their share towards destroying the roof. We found any number of roots in the whole of this upper layer of earth.

To the north, that is towards the outer face of the Wall, the natural rock rises with the result that the bedding between the rock and the layer of stone is here very thin. In this portion eleven stones are left in situ ranging in length from 60 cm. to 3.65 m. The faces of most of these stones are well dressed and their bosses smoothed. A portion of the last stone to the west overlaps the beginning of the tower (Fig. 7).

We removed the earth from the top of this fraction of the Wall to its full width, laying bare the two faces with a solid filling of cement in between. The stones go into the Wall to a depth of from 1.20 m. to 2.30 m.

The width of the tower (from north to south) measures approximately 8.00 m. on the east side, and 9.10 m. on the west. Its length (from east to west) is approximately 11.95 m. On the east side we found a course of seven stones of lengths varying between 47 cm. and 2.50 m. In workmanship they are similar to the part of the Wall east of the tower. The west side is formed by three stones, of which the southernmost is bonded into the main line of the Wall. The face of the northernmost stone, 5.09 m. long and 1.15 m. high, (Fig. 8) was left undressed, and on its northwestern corner we found a cross cut in, and in the same line further east, in the northeastern corner, a T-shaped mark, both signs either cut by the mason to mark out the upper course, or by the stone-cutter to indicate the line of dressing of this corner-stone (Fig. 9). Between the two faces was a filling of stones and cement, which is preserved above the masonry face.

From the body of the Wall, in the portion facing the town, stones are missing along the whole line of the tower. For a stretch of approximately 21.80 m. to the west of

Fig. 7. Sheet 3, E 5, 6. Northern face of Wall.

Fig. 8. Sheet 3, E 5. Tower, looking south-east.

Fig. 9. Sheet 3, E 5. Northern side of tower, showing mason's marks.

the tower (Fig. 10), the masonry is very different and greatly inferior in style. The faces of these stones are either roughly dressed or not dressed at all. The bedding between the stones and the rock, as well as the joints between the various stones of this layer are much inferior to those to the east of the tower. In the southern face of this portion nine stones, ranging from 83 cm. to 3.20 m. in length were found in situ, two stones being missing (Fig. 11). On the northern face no stones were missing. Here the length of the stones varied from 58 cm. to 3.16 m.

At the western end of this portion, there is a piece of rock jutting out of the line

Fig. 10. Sheet 3, E 4, 5. Northern face of Wall, west of tower.

Fig. 11. Sheet 3, E 4, 5. Southern face of Wall, west of tower.

Fig. 12. Sheet 5, E 10. Paved Byzantine courtyard, rock foundations of Wall.

of the Wall in a north-westerly direction. The rock, worked on two sides, is evidently a remnant of an ancient quarry. This rock was left outside the line of the Wall, as was seen in the further course of our excavations in the grounds of the Swedish School, the Wall continuing in a western direction, with a slight inclination to the south.

SECTION 3.

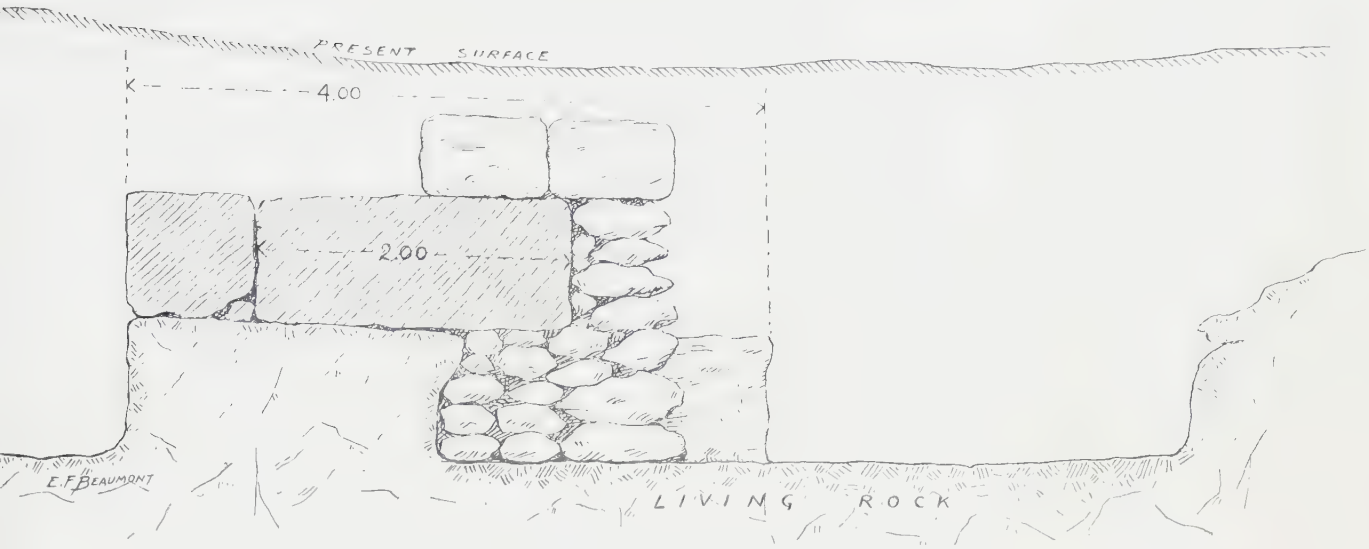
(Key Map E 8—11, Sheets 5, 6)

At a distance of about 60 metres from the eastern corner of Section 2, we found another stretch of the Wall 81.70 metres long. Here the surface of the living rock was much higher than in the previous section and at many points the layer of earth above the surface of the rock was very thin indeed. No remains of the first layer of stones were found here, but it was possible to trace the bedding of the Wall for a length of 46 metres. The thickness of the bedding varied with the unevenness of the rock and sometimes reached a height of from 37—50 cm. The width of the bedding and its direction show that this was doubtless part of the Wall continuing from the previous section.

Near Nablus Road, a Byzantine house was struck (see Chapter: "Remains of Late Buildings"), partly resting on the foundations of the Wall. The foundations, laid bare, were here found to consist of rock so worked as to give the impression of a layer of stones (Fig. 12); to the east of the rock, in the portion facing the town, at a point where the rock becomes lower again, there is another layer of stones 8.30 metres long. The stones of this layer are not well dressed and the spaces left between them are filled in with cement and small chips of stones. On the side facing north there is a broken drafted block left in situ near the Roman tomb cut out of the rock (see Chapter: "Remains of Late Buildings"). Nablus Road having been reached at this point, the examination of the line of the Wall in its eastern course had to be interrupted. A very welcome addition to the results of our own excavation in this spot was the information supplied by Mr. Beaumont, of the American Colony in Jerusalem, who served during the Great War as City Engineer, concerning a remnant of an ancient wall found in the year 1915, to the east of the point where our excavations ended. When drain pipes for sewage were laid in Nablus Road, a part of the Wall, 4 m. wide, was found in a line running eastward from the Wall discovered by us. Two sketches (Fig. 13) illustrate the character of this portion. As in the part near the Byzantine house, part of the first course was formed of worked rock.

The line of the Wall extending to the Nablus Road thus having been established, it became evident that the drafted stone struck during the road repairs (cf. p. 7, fig. 1) was part of a tower projecting northwards 12.40 metres from the body of the Wall. It is worth noting that near this isolated stone, fragments of other drafted stones dressed in a similar way were unearthed.

In order better to ascertain the character of this stone, and to establish the direction of the tower of which it formed part, and more particularly to determine whether the tower had continued in an easterly or westerly direction, excavations round and to the east of it were again undertaken at the very end of our last season. As a result of further examination, we found underneath the stone another layer of smaller stones resting



SECTION THROUGH A – B

PLAN OF MASONRY UNCOVERED WHEN TRENCH WAS DUG FOR TURKISH SEWER IN 1915. AS WILL BE SEEN BY SMALL PLAN IN CIRCLE BELOW, THIS MASONRY (INDICATED IN SOLID BLACK) IS EXACTLY IN LINE WITH THE RECENTLY EXCAVATED PORTIONS OF THE THIRD WALL

FROM A SKETCH MADE IN 1915, BY ERNEST F BEAUMONT, OF THE AMERICAN COLONY

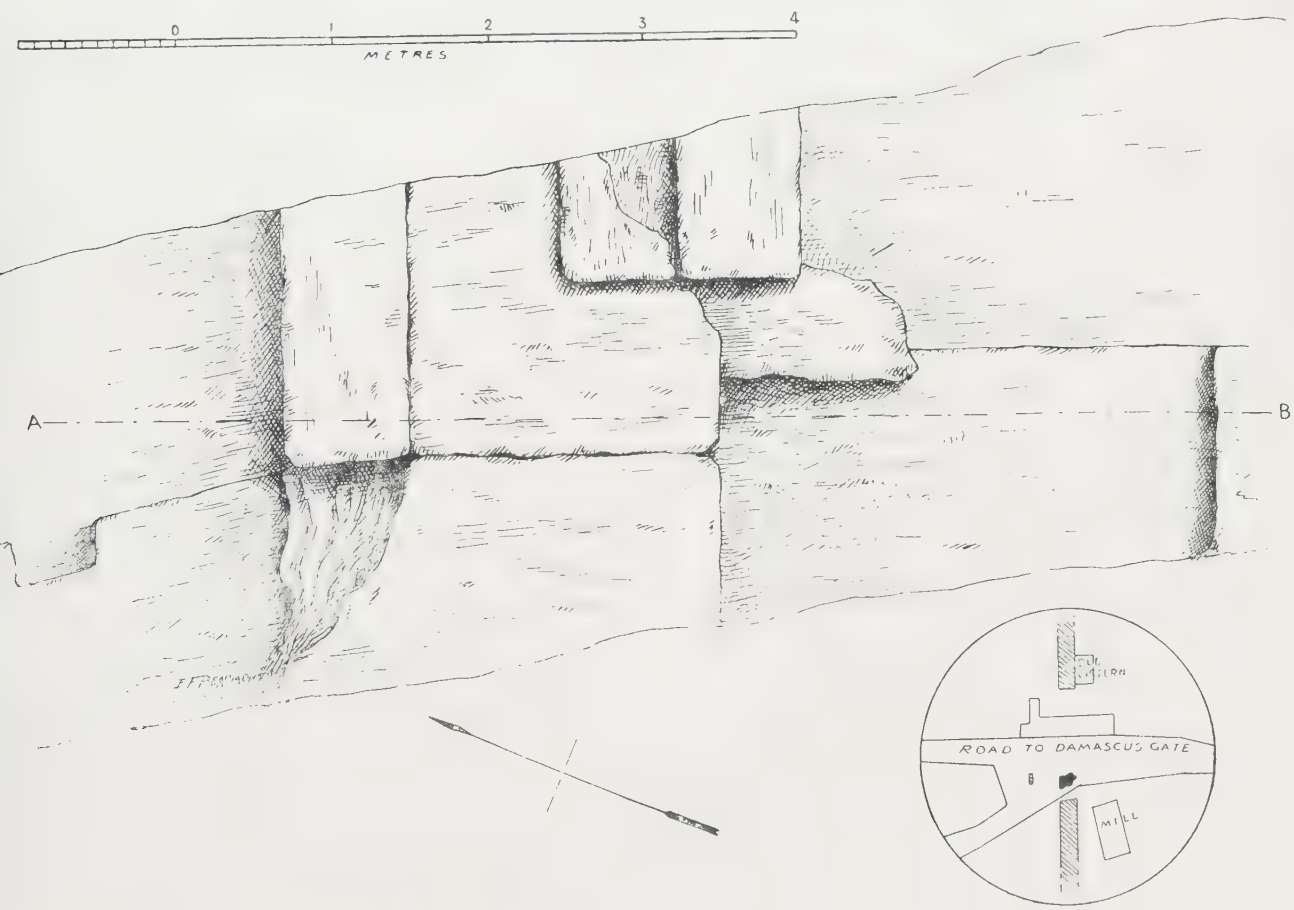


Fig. 13. Portion of Wall discovered in Nablus Road in 1915.

on the rock [1]). Continuing the excavation eastward, it was found that the rock, prepared for a layer of stone, extended for a space of 2.80 m. and here and there traces of bedding were found. We shall, therefore, have to conclude that the tower went at least thus far in an easterly direction. This theory is supported by the discovery of a number of small stones with bosses and drafted margins unearthed in the trench cut here. Although stones of this type were found at various points of our excavation, those discovered here had a boss and margin cut on two sides, which proves that they had been used as corner stones in the upper layers of the tower (Fig. 14). Owing to the new road built to the west of the isolated stone, namely Richard Coeur-de-Lion Street, it was impossible to establish the extent of the tower in a westerly direction.

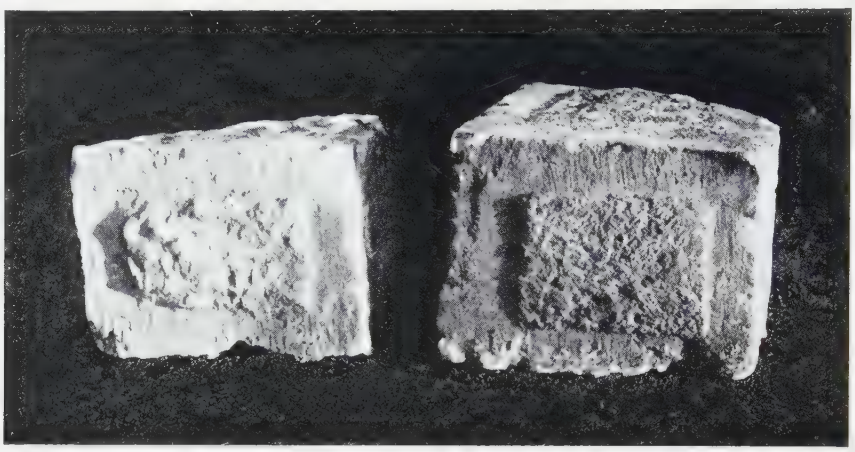


Fig. 14. Small stones from upper courses of the Wall.

SECTION 4.
(Key Map E 12—13, Sheets 7,8)

To the East of Nablus Road, by the tank found behind a house marked in old maps as "Jewish Houses", to the north of the Dominican Monastery, there is a line of big blocks of stone which has for a long time attracted the interest of explorers in Jerusalem, without their having been able to reach a definite conclusion with regard to the character and meaning of this monument (Fig. 2).

These ancient remains were first examined in the years 1864-5 by Sir Charles Wilson, who excavated at both ends of this line of stones in the east and in the west. To the west of the tank he found no continuation of the stones, but merely earth and loose stones. To the east of the tank he discovered traces of buildings, a few vats built and cemented which, in his opinion, had been used as reservoirs for oil. From his description it is obvious that he was unable to establish the character of these stones and that he did not discover the northern face of the Wall. He concluded, therefore, that none of these stones was in situ.

There is reason to believe, however, that he was not quite sure of his conclusion, because Baurat Schick tells us [2]) that Wilson asked him in 1867 to continue the excavations

[1]) This discovery refutes the theory suggested to us during the excavations that this stone was not in situ.
[2]) Q. St. 1895, p. 31.

and to search for other remains, which, if found, might perhaps reveal the continuation of the wall. In the year 1875, Schick, too, excavated to the west of this line of stones, and likewise failed to find the continuation, but he discovered a series of tombs cut in the rock. He dug at the western corner and also from the other side of the stones, and found that the thickness of the Wall was 14'. Although owing to the opposition of the owner of the plot he did not excavate to the east of the tank, he concluded that these stones had no continuation to the east. The tombs which he discovered to the west of the tank satisfied him that these remains were not part of a city wall, in the ordinary sense of the word, but part of a mausoleum for which the tank served as a courtyard, similar to the courtyard in front of the tomb of Queen Helena. His opinion was that the entrance to this tomb would be found after the removal of the small stones lining the walls of the tank underneath the big drafted blocks [1]).

According to Prof. Paton (see Appendix p. 71) Schick carried out this work later, but without finding the entrance which he hoped to discover. At all events, Schick has not published the results of this second clearance.

In 1904, Prof. Paton, then Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, excavated for a short time at this tank, and came to the astonishing conclusion that this "monument" was not built of single stones, but that it was wholly of worked rock.

At this point, at which our excavations reached Nablus Road, it at once became clear that the layer of huge blocks at the back of the tank was in one line with the Wall discovered to the west of the road. As the descriptions of this place given by the three scholars do not agree, and their conclusions, as we have seen before, are widely divergent, we decided to examine this portion again.

When we began our excavations the section of the wall facing south had been almost entirely laid bare. As we had noted in other places in the course of our excavations, parts of the Wall had been used at a later period as rear walls for cisterns and tanks. At this particular point, not content with the depth afforded by the layers of masonry, the builders of the cistern had cut through the rock which formed the foundations of the Wall (see also Section 2). The inside of the tank was lined with cement and stones. In certain places where this lining had broken away, the structure of the Wall was clearly visible. There is only a thin layer of bedding between the rock and the first layer of stones, the height of the latter on this side being on the average 1.75 m. The length of the longest stone is 5.05 m. The faces of the stones are well dressed and some of them have drafted margins.

First of all we cleared the northern face of the Wall (Fig. 15), continuing the search for further sections of it to the east of the tank. This excavation clearly showed that we had before us a part of the Wall, on the average 4 m. wide, continuing for 8.80 metres to the east of the tank. The stones facing south are mostly rough and not properly cut, only some of them being well dressed and smoothed. The last stone to the east was half broken and showed that at some later period a wall, built of small stones, had been added

[1]) Merrill was apparently impressed by this theory, since he expressed the opinion that this line of stone was a part of the mausoleum of Alexander Jannaeus.

Fig. 15 Sheet 7, E 13 Northern face of Wall, vats in the background.

to it. It continues for 2.20 m. from the broken stone in a southerly direction and includes a late building found to the south of the Wall (see Chapter "Remains of Late Buildings").

A trench dug at the western end of the tank confirmed the statements made by Wilson that the line of stones ended with the rest of the Wall, but the dressing of the stones makes it clear that the wall continued on this side. The tombs cut in the rock, discovered by Schick in the immediate neighbourhood of this place, would well explain the absence of stones which had been evidently removed for this purpose. Later we cut a few trenches, on the little plateau on which the tank is situated in an eastern and north-western direction, everywhere striking remains of late buildings, water channels, etc., but without finding at this point the continuation of the Wall.

SECTION 5.
(Key Map E 15—16, Sheets 9,10)

At a distance of about 70 metres from the eastern stones of the previous section of the Wall, another stretch of the latter was discovered. We struck the remains of two layers of stones, this time over a stretch of 10.40 metres (Fig. 16), and including the tower of 16.10 m.

The Wall is here set in a quarry, the signs of which are clearly visible on the rock to the north of the Wall. Possibly this is the quarry from which the very stones of this section of the Wall were cut. The difference in the height between the level of the quarry and the rock near it caused the height of the first layer on the southern side to equal that of the second layer on the northern side.

The lowest course on the northern side contains seven stones mostly dressed, although in different ways, their height averaging 1.20 m. and their length varying from 1.20 m. to 1.90 m. The bedding differs according to the varying height of the rock. The upper course of stones, some of which project slightly over those of the lower level, consists of 6 stones, three of which are broken, leaving three big stones of from 1.10 m. to 1.30 m. in height, the length of the largest being 2.26 m. The big stones are not dressed, though in several places attempts at dressing are recognizable.

As we saw previously there is on the southern face only one course of four undressed stones, their height being 1.30 m. and their maximum length 2.50 m. Above them another course of small stones was found; it is doubtful whether they belong to the Wall itself or whether they are remnants of a later building erected on the foundation of the Wall. The latter theory would seem more plausible. A Roman stone ball was found near the big stones on this side (see Chapter "Small Finds").

Remains of a tower projecting northward were also found at the eastern end of this section. Owing to the destruction of the northern part its original width could not be ascertained. At its eastern end we discovered a late cistern built entirely inside the tower [1]). Of the tower itself there is only one course left with merely a few stones inside.

Here too, we were compelled to interrupt digging operations in an easterly direction owing to a big cistern which is still in use. Possibly this cistern, too, abuts on remains of the Wall as other cisterns have been found to do at several points of this Wall.

1) With regard to cisterns built within remains of towers, see the statement of Robinson and others (Appendix, p. 63 ff.)

Fig. 16. Sheet 9, E 15, 16. Northern face of Wall. Portion of the tower in the foreground.

SECTION 6.

(Key Map E F 17—19, Sheets 9, 10)

Between the previous section of the Wall and the last part of this stretch, which will be mentioned later on, our soundings laid bare rock worked on two sides cutting across the supposed continuation of the Wall. Steps cut in this rock show that it once served as a quarry. A few layers of stone still resting on it are doubtless parts of a later building. It seems that the rock was used as a foundation for the Wall, because in the trench cut next to it, in the loose earth, we found several dressed stones with a central boss of the same type as the small stones of the Wall unearthed at other points.

The last portion of this stretch of Wall, of which the easternmost end just touches the courtyard of the American School of Oriental Research, is the most complex portion of all the sections of the Wall so far discovered.

To the west of Saladin's Road, leading from Herod's Gate to the Tombs of the Kings, we struck first a late Arab building, a cistern and some tombs (Fig. 17). Underneath these structures on the western side we found a smooth rock-wall of a depth of from seven to eight metres (Fig. 18). This Wall runs from north-east to south-west. It extends for a length of 15 m., facing west at both ends. We traced its line towards the west for a length of 2.20 m. to the south and 1 m. to the north. We had no funds to clear the loose earth which filled the cavity formed by the removal of the rock, and so had to content ourselves with clearing a narrow space in front of this rock-wall. The ground of the cavity was uneven and clear traces of quarrying were visible; it was possible to see that the cavity ended on the northern side on the same line as the above-mentioned tower adjoining it (Fig. 19).

The fact that the cavity ends almost in a line with the northern stones of the tower is suggestive of this rock-wall being the glacis at the bottom of the Wall. Care should be taken, however, in drawing such conclusions, as this is the only case of its kind which we struck in the whole length of the Wall, though it must be pointed out that for various reasons we were compelled to content ourselves with cutting narrow trenches on both sides of the Wall, and that it is not impossible that moats actually existed in other parts, outside the trenches cut by us.

The tower adjacent to this cavity now projects 7.50 m. from the body of the Wall (Fig. 20). Nothing is left of it but one course of stones, well preserved on the eastern side. This consists of six big stones firmly joined together. The rock juts out on the northern side of the tower where it serves as the continuation of the lowest layer of masonry. A layer of small stones found along the eastern side in the southern portion of the tower should be considered as a remnant of a late building.

In the body of the Wall near the tower and to the east of the latter, there is a square room, approximately 4.90 x 2.60 m., into which the masonry of the tower is not bonded (Figs. 21, 22). Of the walls of this room there is only one course left. The southern wall is missing, and in place of it we found the wall of an Arab structure built on its ruins.

Fig. 17. Sheet 9, E 18. Ruins of Arab structures.

Fig. 18. Sheet 9, E 18 Rock-scarp.

Fig. 19. Sheet 9, E 18, 19. Tower in front of the American School of Oriental Research.

Fig. 20. Sheet 9, E 18. Room to the east of the tower.

Fig. 21. Sheet 9. E 18. Room to the east of the tower, looking east.

Fig. 22. Sheet 9, E 18. Tower and room to the east of the tower.

Fig. 23. Sheet 9, E 19. Portion of Wall, east to the gate.

At a distance of 6 m. to the east of this room we found the continuation of the Wall, particularly one course of stones that went as far as the fence enclosing the grounds of the American School of Oriental Research (Fig. 23). The length of this part is 4.50 m. and its width 5.70 m. Because of this fence we were compelled to search for the remainder of this section on the other side, and there we found one stone in continuation of the Wall. In one corner of this section a few stones of the second layer were found.

The space between the square room and this part was apparently designed to serve as a gate, which was later blocked by big stones found in the course of the excavations (Figs. 24, 25). This fact explains the considerable width of the wall at this point (5.70 m.), as well as the existence of a room, which was meant to serve some military purpose. On the eastern side of this gate no trace of the tower has been discovered, which would have been within the boundary of the property of the American School of Oriental Research. In the course of our short excavation on the continuation of the line of the Wall, we found no traces of the Wall itself, but merely remains of later buildings, such as walls and tessellated pavements.

A few trenches cut in the courtyard of the American School, to the west of its new building, mark the easternmost point of our excavations. A minor excavation at Herod's Gate is still to be mentioned. It was undertaken in order to establish the line of our Wall in the eastern section of the town.

It is a known fact that near the American School of Oriental Research is the beginning of the valley which passes near Herod's Gate and touches the north-eastern corner of the

Fig. 24. Sheet 9, E 18, 19. Stones blocking the gate. Cf. fig. 25.

Fig. 25. Sheet 9, E 18, 19. Sotnes blocking the gate. Details.

Fig. 26. Stones jutting out of the present City Wall, west of Herod's Gate. Cf. fig. 4.

Fig. 27. Foundations of stones shown on fig. 26.

Temple Area before joining the Kidron Valley. It was to be assumed, therefore, that near this place the Wall would turn to the south so as to have the natural protection afforded by the bed of the valley, as was the case with other parts of the City Wall. Consequently we started soundings at the first tower to the west of Herod's Gate, whilst still engaged on our work near the American School. At this spot, at the bottom of the present City Wall, there are two courses of big blocks of stone which belonged to an ancient wall. The stones of the lowest course project from the Wall and seem to be part of a more ancient wall, the direction of which was at this point not from east to west, as the present wall, but from north to south (Fig. 26). The conclusion lay near — and so thought Dr. Mader also—that at the time when the present City Wall was built, the masons left the stones of an ancient wall in their original position at this point.

Under these stones we found a layer of bedding 4.40 m. wide and 60 cm. deep, very similar to the bedding of the wall previously discovered (Fig. 27), whereas on both sides of these stones the bottom course of the present Wall was set on the rock without any such bedding.

In a few trenches dug in the field in front of this point, we found no trace of the Wall, and we conclude that these parts, situated outside the line of the present wall, must have been destroyed at the time the present wall was built. We excavated also on the other side of the City Wall, in order to see whether there was any building in continuation of these stones. These digging operations were somewhat laborious, since in order to reach the lowest layers of the Wall we had to cut a trench to a depth of about 9 m. in the midst of a heap of rubbish which had accumulated at this part of the wall. Lack of funds and stormy weather prevented us from getting positive results at this spot.

REMAINS OF LATE BUILDINGS.

SECTION 1.

(Key Map E 3, Sheets 3,10)

In the grounds of the Swedish School, about 17 m. to the south of the Wall, remains of a late building were found, probably of the Arabic period, of which a part is outside the above-mentioned property. The building measures from west to east 26 m. in length and 10.90 m. in width. From the northern wall a few piers project into the inner part of the building, obviously to support the domes of a roof which rested directly on the southern portions of the wall, which is here much thicker than the north wall. It is difficult to decide what the building was used for; over its western part, inside the Swedish property, now stands the new building of the Swedish School. In the line of the Wall at this spot three tombs were found, partly cut in the rock which formed the foundation of the Wall, and partly built. Their length is 1.80 m. and their width 0.50 m. They are orientated approximately from east to west. To judge from potsherds found in them, they belong to the Byzantine period (see Chapter "Small Finds").

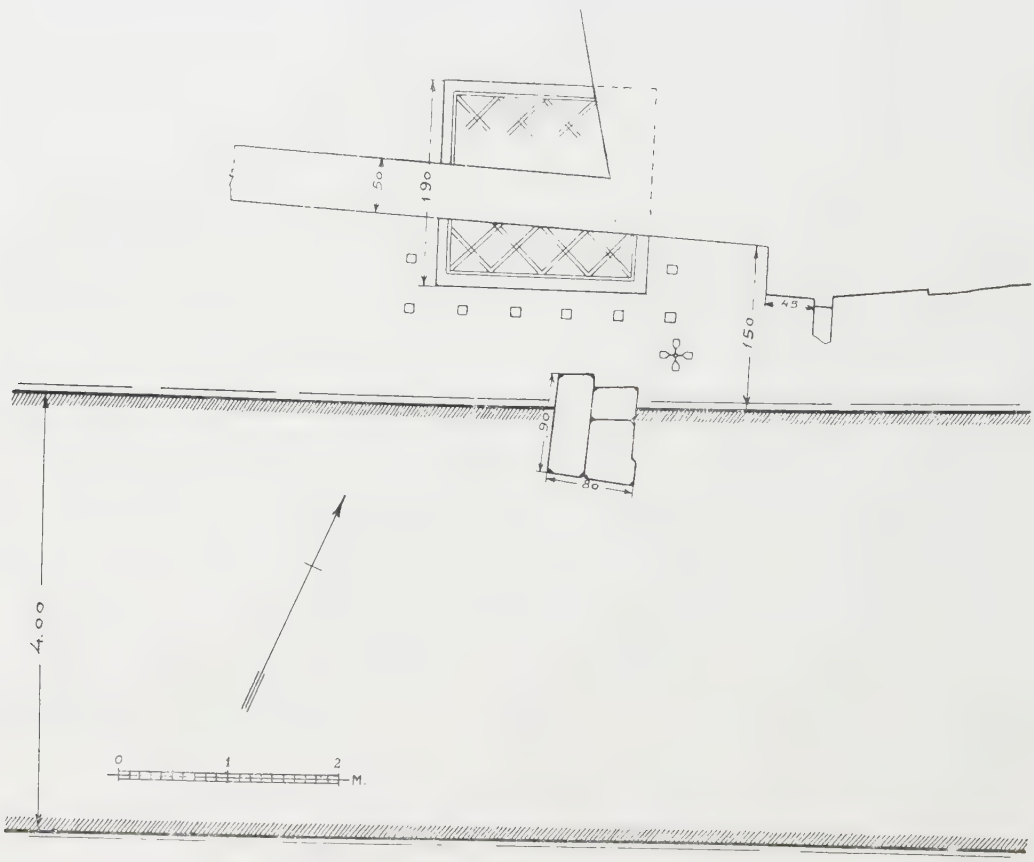


Fig. 28. Sheet 3, E 5, 6. Plan of Byzantine and Arabic remains.

Fig. 29. Sheet 3, E 5, 6. Byzantine mosaics north of the Wall.

SECTION 2.

(Key Map E 5–6, Sheets 3, 4)

To the south of this section two cisterns were found abutting on the wall, their northern side resting on it. The first cistern, approximately 1.75 m. deep, 4.50 m. wide and 6.30 m. long, was to a great extent destroyed. The second cistern was better preserved. It rested on fine blocks of stone and its lower part was cut right through the rock underneath the Wall. It is about 2.80 m. deep, 2.30 m. wide and 5 m. long. To the north of the Wall there are remains of a big building, or perhaps buildings, opposite the second cistern just mentioned and to the east of the tower. Near the Wall itself and partly resting upon it, there was a Byzantine tessellated pavement greatly damaged by an Arab building erected over it (Fig. 28). Towards the eastern end of this mosaic pavement there was a kind of narrow corridor paved with white mosaic, leading up to the big room (Fig. 29). The mosaic pavement of the big room was almost plain and only in the middle was there a square panel with a geometrical ornament in black and white (Fig. 30). It is quite possible that this room formed part of the Byzantine building discovered about 15 m. to the north of the Wall before the excavation was started upon (see p. 8).

Of that Byzantine building only traces of two walls are left and fragments of a destroyed mosaic pavement in colours bearing a Greek inscription (see Chapter "Inscriptions"). A specimen of the ornament of this mosaic is reproduced (Fig. 31). About 5 m. to the east of this building there is another fragment of mosaic next to the cistern of that building (Fig. 32).

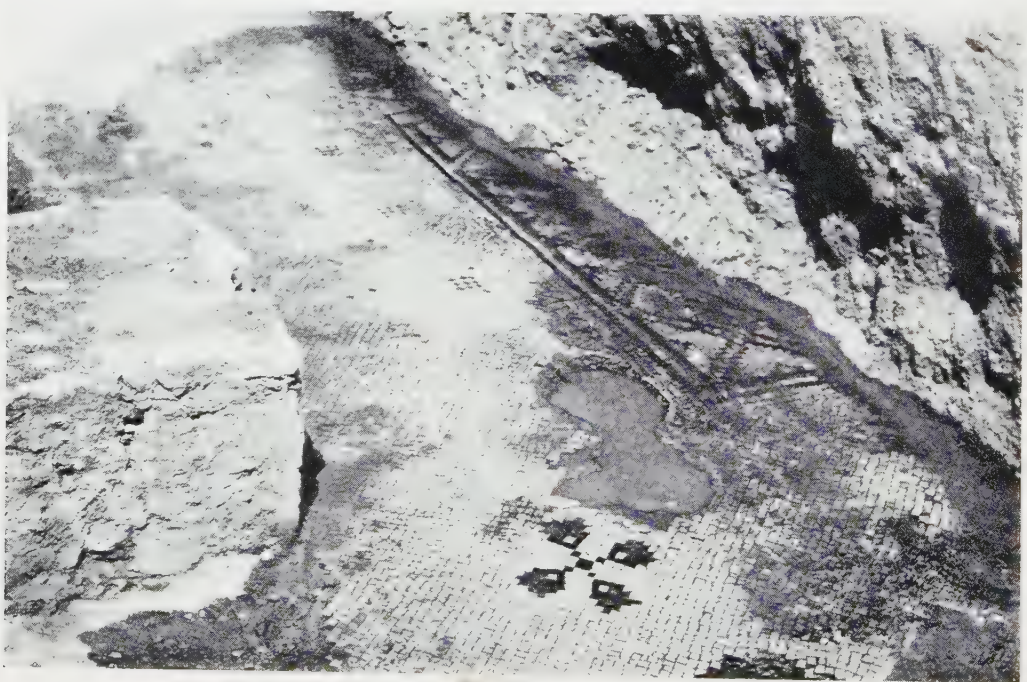


Fig. 30. Sheet 3, E 5, 6. Byzantine mosaics north of the Wall. Details.

SECTION 3.

(Key Map E 19, Sheets 5, 6)

A second Byzantine building was found in this section west of Nablus Road. The portion uncovered revealed two rooms and a courtyard. The two rooms adjoined the line of the Wall and contained plain mosaic pavements, with a border of black triangles along the walls. The courtyard, paved with big slabs of stone, was on the Wall itself. Various water channels crossed each other in the courtyard, forming a small reservoir from which other channels branched off in various directions. In this section were found tombs cut into the rock. The first tomb is a sort of narrow cave 1.70 m. long, 0.60 m. wide and 1.15 m. deep. The cave contained two tombs, one above the other, divided by slabs of stone. On clearing the upper tomb we found a Latin inscription, (see Chapter "Inscriptions"), on one of the slabs which covered the lower tomb. The position of this slab, facing downwards, clearly shows that it was not in situ. Potsherds unearthed from these tombs show that they belonged to the Byzantine period.

Of a different type is the second tomb-cave cut into the rock near the Nablus Road to the north of the Wall (Fig. 33). The entrance to the cave was formed by a horizontal shaft 1.20 m. deep, 1.72 m. long and 0.55 m. wide. Up to about 0.80 m. in front of the rock the shaft widens, then narrows again till it reaches the rock, where it was blocked by a slab of

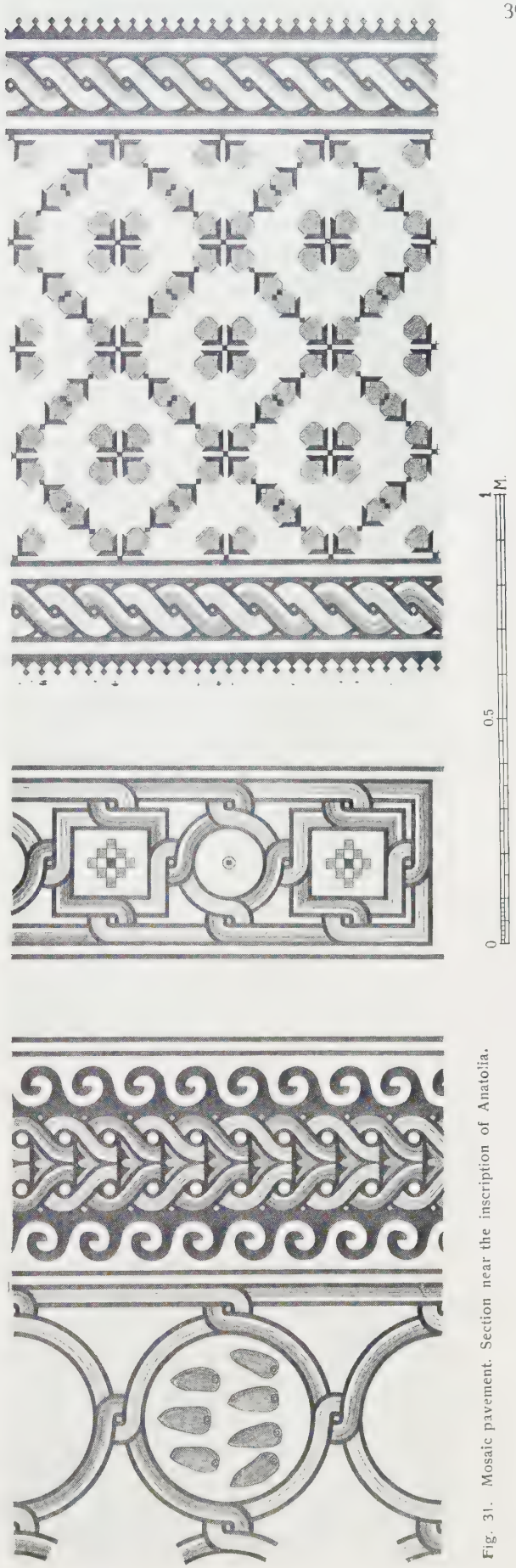


Fig. 31. Mosaic pavement. Section near the inscription of Anatolia.

stone. About 0.30 m. beneath this slab of stone, there is a small room with a diameter of approximately 2.20 m., at the bottom of which three sarcophagi were cut. The middle one, 0.53 m. wide, was the narrowest of the three. The two lateral sarcophagi were covered with slabs of stone and contained bones of the dead. The middle one did not contain any bones. This cave belongs to the type of Roman tomb discovered some decades ago near the Tombs of the Kings.[1]) The Roman inscription discovered in the first tomb in this section may possibly have belonged to the tomb-cave just described.[2])

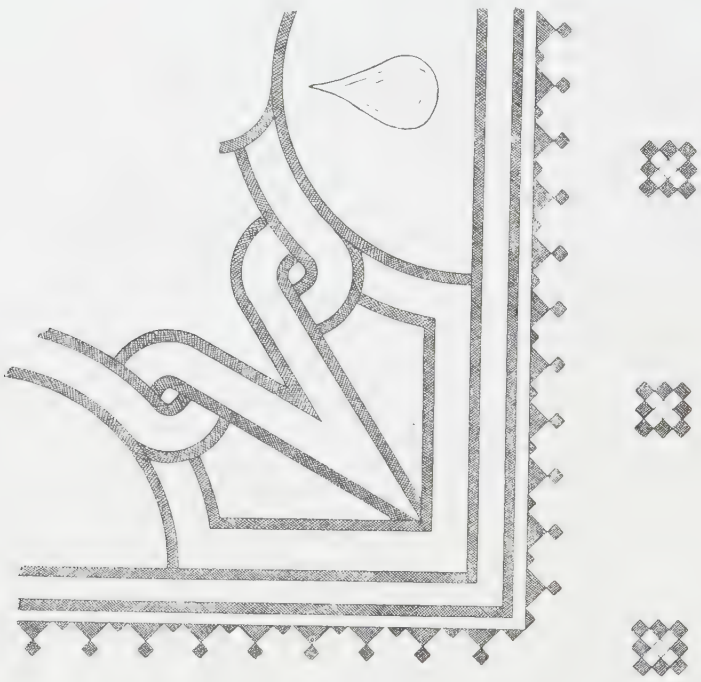


Fig. 32. Portion of mosaic at the mouth of the cistern.

SECTION 4.

(Key Map E 12—13, Sheets 7, 8)

To the east of the big tank in this section and to the south of the Wall, there are traces of a small Arab establishment for soap-boiling. The vat built to the north of the Wall apparently belonging to it, was probably used as an oil reservoir, as already suggested by Wilson. The building was enclosed by a wall, the northern part of which was linked up with the Wall. Remains of a mosaic pavement were found above the Wall itself. In a few trenches dug at other points of this section, we struck insignificant remains of late buildings and water channels.

[1]) See Bliss-Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 243 ff. Another cave of the same type was described by H. Vincent, *Hypogée romain au nord de Jerusalem*, R. B. 1909, p. 112 ff.

[2]) In the area of the Roman cemetery near the Tombs of the Kings other slabs with Latin inscriptions were found. cf. G. Jeffery, *Roman remains found on the Anglican College ground, Jerusalem*. Q. St. 1898, p. 35; J. E. Hanauer, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Q. St. 1903, p. 271. The slab published by Jeffery is now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.

SECTION 6.

(Key Map E 18, Sheets 9, 10)

To the south of the tower near the room at the gate, traces of Arab houses were found. The earliest of these remains are two tombs built side by side both plastered on inside. Their respective measurements are 175 (110) cm. long,[1]) 90 (85) cm. wide, and about 40 cm. deep. The bottom of the tombs is raised towards the west, apparently for the head of the dead which, in accordance with Moslem custom, was placed to the west, facing Mecca, which is by Palestinian Moslems considered to be almost due south.[2])

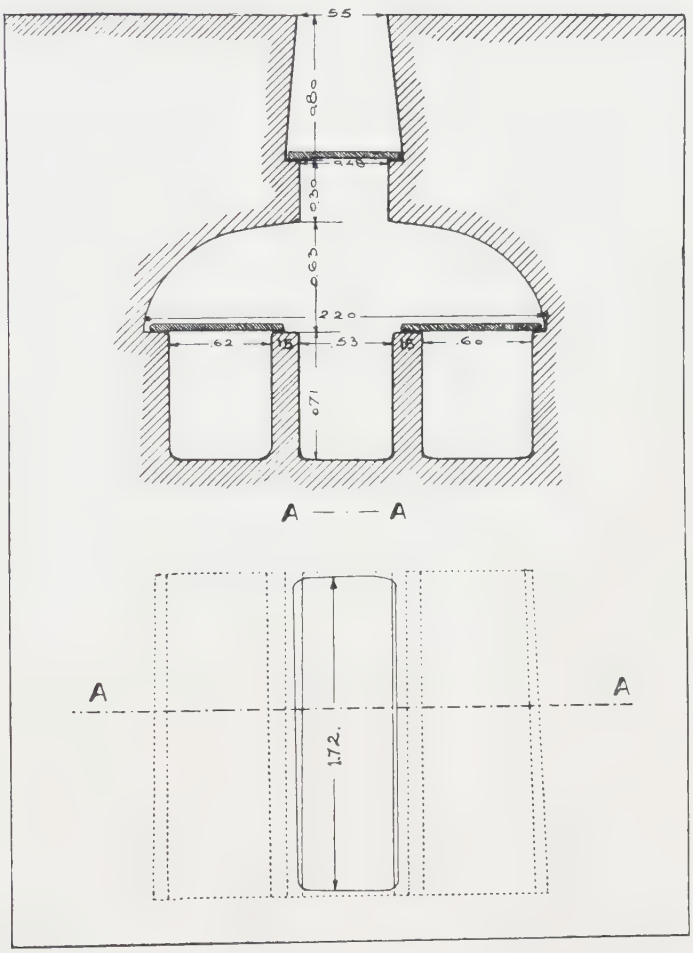


Fig. 33. Sheet 5, E 10. Sheet 6, I-I. Roman tomb.

At a later Arab period these tombs were destroyed and a poor building erected over them. Of these late Arab structures, some remains of walls were found in the room next to the door, a big oven occupying most of this room, a domed cistern, and to the west of it a small building beyond the tombs, reached by descending a few steps.

1) The original length of the second cannot be ascertained, part of it having been built upon.

2) On adjacent grounds, now the property of the Dominicans, Arab tombs were found at the time the monastery was being built, cf. Max van Berchem, *Épitaphe arabe de Jérusalem*, R. B. 1900, pp. 288-90.

In the southern wall of this building there were a few niches serving, apparently, for domestic storage purposes.

Remains of Byzantine buildings and a portion of a tessellated pavement were found south of the gate in the grounds of the American School of Oriental Research. Remains of houses of that period were also found in the trenches excavated by us in Saladin Road to the south of the line of the Wall. One more cistern remains to be mentioned, that resting on the northern part of the Wall near the fence of the American School, was in part built of stones taken from the Wall (Fig. 34).

Fig. 34. Sheet 9, E 19. Small stones of the Wall reused in a late cistern.

SMALL FINDS.

As is invariably the case in excavations round city walls, very few small finds were unearthed in our trenches. The short life of the Wall and the inconsiderable depth at which the objects were found readily explain the absence of small finds in great numbers.

The few potsherds that came to light belong for the most part to the series of ribbed ware usually ascribed to the Byzantine and Arab periods. Only in one spot (Section 2, Key-Map E 4, Sheet 3) two Roman lamps were discovered. Two juglets, almost complete, (Fig. 35), found in the tombs in the grounds of the Swedish School (Key-Map E 3,

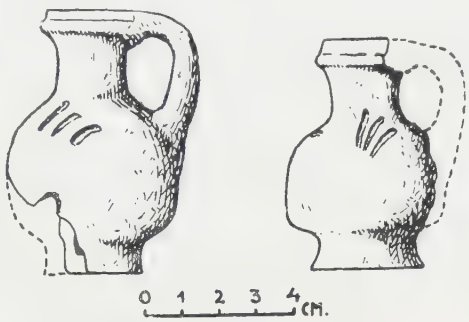


Fig. 35. Byzantine juglets.

Sheet 3), their shoulders ornamented with parallel nicks arranged in threes, are of the same type as some of those discovered in Ophel by Mr. Crowfoot on the Street Level dating therefore from the Byzantine period. [1])

In Section 2 (Key—Map E 5, Sheet 3) to the east of the tower, an iron axe, 22 cm. long, was found in the trenches (Fig. 36).

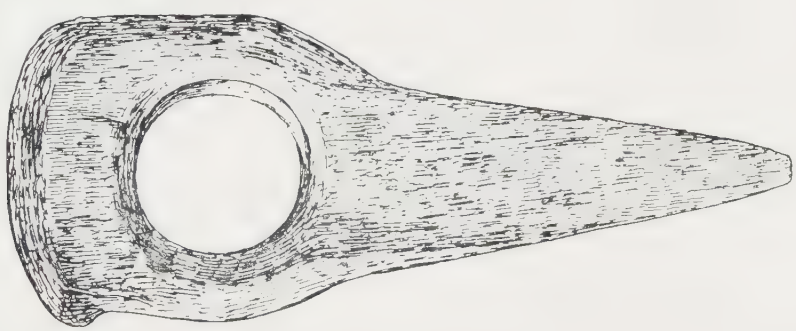


Fig. 36. Iron Axe.

One object definitely connected with the wall and the attacks made upon it is a stone-ball, found in Section 5 (Key-Map E 15, Sheet 9) on the southern side of the Wall facing the town (Fig. 37). The ball is flattened on two sides. It measures 30 cm. in

1) P.E.F. Annual V., Plate XV.

diameter and weighs 23.5 kg. With regard to these balls used by the Romans during the siege of Jerusalem, Josephus tells us in *Wars* (V, 6, 3):

" Now, the stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and farther. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space."

Several coins belonging to various periods, mostly obliterated beyond recognition, were found in the trenches. Those which could be deciphered belong to Alexander Jannaeus, Bar-Kokhba and Philippus, but none of them were found in a position that would enable us to draw conclusions therefrom.

Fig. 37. Stone ball.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Altogether four inscriptions were found in the course of the excavations: two in Greek, one in Latin and one in Arabic. The texts are simple and as none of them belong to the original period of the Wall, we are reproducing them practically without commentary.

Latin.

1. Slab of weathered limestone found blocking the tomb cut in the living rock (Key-Map E 10, Sheet 5, fig. 38), 72 cms. long, 60 cms. wide, 10-12 cms. thick, right hand top corner broken off, left hand top corner split, several letters damaged. Seven lines of text, four 65 mms. high, three 45 mms.

1. GLAUCO. ARTEMIDOR. ZEUG [. . .]
2. VIXIT. ANNIS. LXXVIII.
3. CYP [RIAE] MARCELLAE. CONIUGI. GLAU [CI]
4. VIXIT. ANNIS. XLVIII.
5. FL (AVIO) DEMETRIANO. FILIO. EORUM. PIO.
6. VIXIT. ANNIS. XXVII.
7. . . . . IUS. CLEMENS. PARENTIBUS. P(OSUIT) F(ILIUS)

Fig. 38. Latin inscription.

To Glaucus Artemidorus(of ?) Zeug(ma?) who lived for 78 years, to Cypria Marcella, the wife of Glaucus, who lived for 48 years, to Flavius Demetrianus, their pious son, who lived for 27 years, ...ius Clemens the son erected to his parents.

The script suggests the second century as a possible date.

Greek.

2. Mosaic-panel in the Byzantine Church (Key-Map E 6, Fig. 39) set in a tabula ansata, 157 cm. long, 63 cm. wide, framed by two lines of black tesserae. Eleven lines of text divided by rows of red tesserae. Black letters 12-13.5 cm. high, a few letters in the last line reduced to 5-6 cm. [2])

1. Ἐνθάδε κ[ε]ῖτ(αι)
2. Ἀνατολία
3. ἡ Ἀραβ[ισσην]ὴ
4. ἡ τοῦ [Μαυρικίου?]
5. ἡ καλ[ὸν τὸν]
6. ἀγῶν[α ἀγω-]
7. νισαμένη κ(αὶ)
8. Θ(ε)ῷ ἑαυτὴν
9. ἀναθεῖσα ἐκοι-
10. μήθη δὲ μην[ὶ]
11. Ὀκτοβρίῳ κα′
12. ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ′

Here lies Anatolia of Arab (issos?) sister of..... having fought a good fight and consecrated herself to God, fell asleep on the 21st of the month of October of the indiction 3.

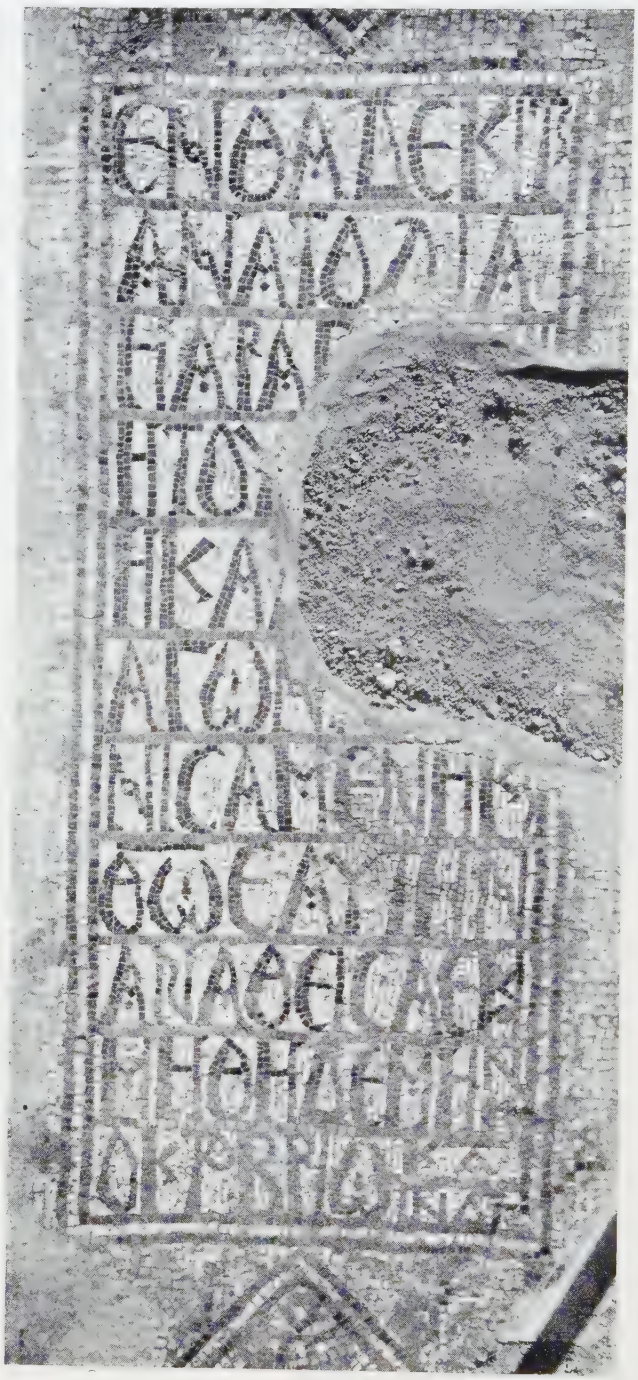


Fig. 39. Greek inscription.

3) Published by F.-M. Abel, *Épigraphie Palestinienne*, Revue Biblique, 1925, pp. 575 ff., pl. XIX. 1.

Père Abel considers the missing word of the fourth line to be Μαυρικίου "of Maurice (?)" with reference to the Emperor Maurice (582-602), whose home was at Arabissos, and whose sister, having escaped the massacre instigated by Phocas, went to live in Jerusalem.

3. Slab of limestone, found by the sill of the entrance to the Arabic structure erected over the Wall (Key-Map E 5). Irregular shape, maximum width 25.5 cm., maximum height 28 cm., thickness from 6—6.5 cm., one line of text (Fig. 40).

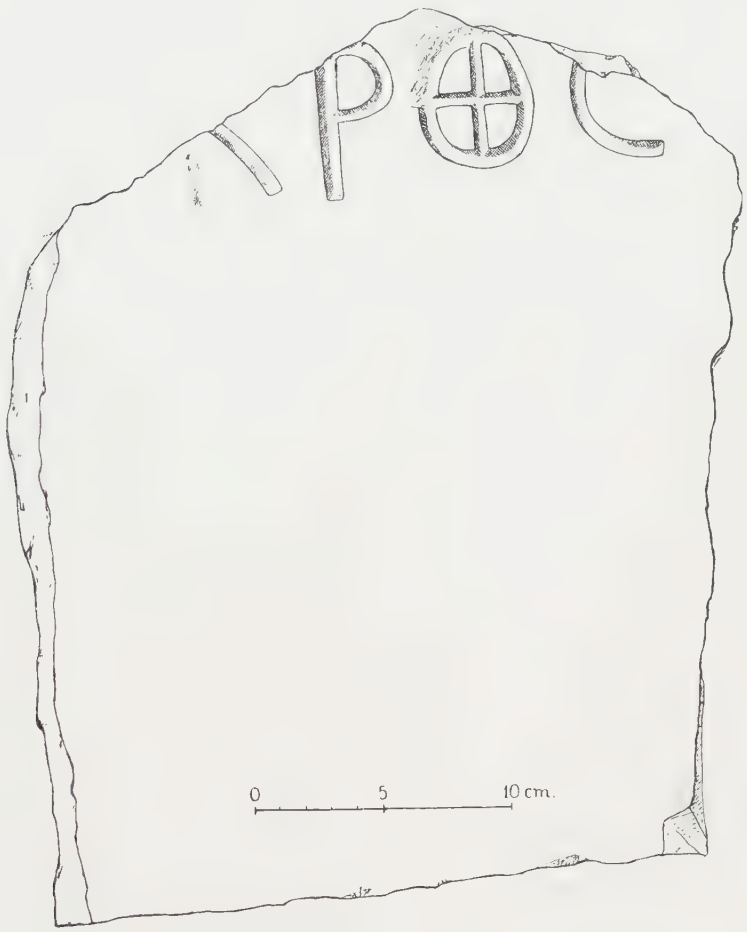
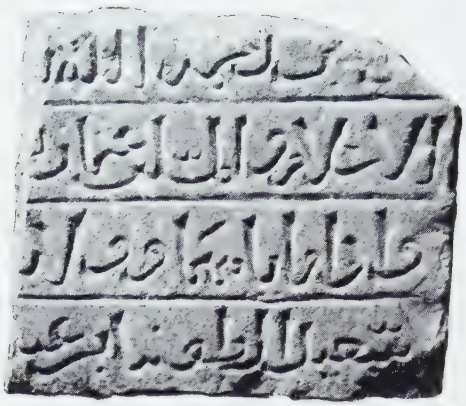


Fig 40. Fragment of Greek inscription.

Arabic.

4. Slab of limestone (Key-Map E 19),[1] top and left hand side broken off, 40 cm. long, 35 cm. wide, 15 cm. thick, divided by parallel lines into bands 9 cm. high. Four lines of text. Clear characters, few diacritical points, few vowel signs (Fig. 41).

1) Found near the blocked gate.



1) ...رحمه الله

2) الاسلام والمسلمين عثمان بـ[ن

3) وأدام أيّامهما وولا[يتهما

4) سعيد ألطنبا بن عبد[الله

Fig. 41. Arabic inscription.

The text is a fragment of a historical inscription mentioning the name of ʿUthmān b..... The name of the father was engraved on the left hand side of the inscription now missing. The words of the blessing *adama ayyamahuma* "May God make the days of both of them last" prove that there was another name included therein, although it is not clear whether its holder was the father or the son of ʿUthmān. The letters of this inscription show several characteristics of the Ayyubid period, — the characters are relatively squat, the *alifs* and *lāms* short in comparison with other letters, and there are no differentiating points or filling ornaments; consequently, the inscription must be assigned to one of four pairs of Ayyubid rulers:

A

Al-Malik an-Nasir Salah ad-dīn Yūsuf	564 — 589 A.H.
Al-Malik al-ʿAziz ʿImad ad-dīn ʿUthman	598 — 595 A.H.
Al-Malik al-Mansūr Nāsir ad-dīn Muhammad	595 — 596 A.H.

B

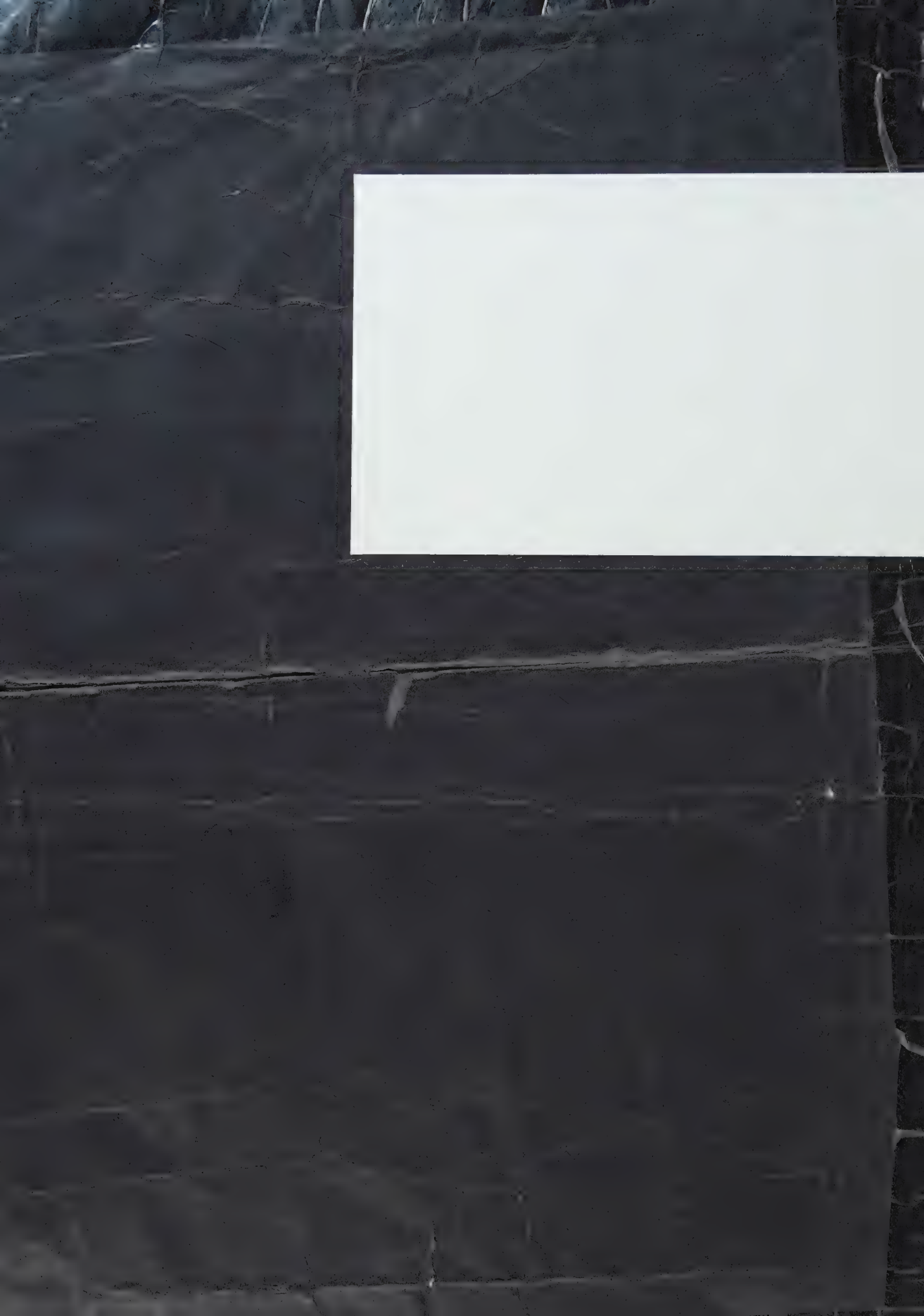
Al-Malik al-ʿAdil Saif ad-dīn Abu Bakr Ahmad	589 — 608 A.H.
Al-Malik al-ʿAziz ʿImād ad-dīn ʿUthman	608 — 630 A.H.
Al-Malik az-Zāhir Ghāzī **or**	
Al-Malik as-Saʿid Fakhr ad-dīn Hasan	630 — 658 A.H.

As the only title left in this inscription, namely (*sultān*) *al-islām wa-l-muslimīn*, was borne by rulers of the Ayyubid dynasty from the days of Saladin onward, it is difficult to say to which of these pairs of rulers this inscription should be attributed. Nevertheless, the second set seems to be ruled out by the fact that ʿUthman governed only in Baniyas and Ṣubaibah, and despite his short stay in Jerusalem early in 616 (1219) [1]) never possessed Jerusalem or built or repaired its monuments.

1) Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum (M C I A), Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 121, and the literature there quoted.

ERRATUM

Page 48, l. 4 for ألطنبا read ألطونبا



'Uthman, son of Saladin, possessed Jerusalem either from the end of 589 or from 590 till 591, and again from 592 till Muharram 595 (November 1198) [1]. As he obtained the title of Sultan only after the death of his father, the dual most probably refers to him and his son Muḥammad, then a child, who might have been mentioned in this text as the heir-apparent.

The name Altunbā perhaps short for Altunbughā [2] was rather common during the Ayyubid period [3] and, as there is neither any mention of his office, his *laqab* nor his *nisbeh*, it is impossible to identify him, although it seems most likely that he is identical with the inspector of works on Saladin's wall and moat mentioned in 587 (1191). [4]

1) *MCIA, Jérusalem, Ville*, pp. 99, 107, 113, 121 f. Other inscriptions of this Ayyubid giving the title *sultan al-islam wa-l-muslimīn*, in *MCIA, Égypte*, I, pp. 645, 727.

2) *MCIA, Jérusalem, Haram*, p. 30, n. 1.; but cf. also names ending in "bā" where "bā" is short for "bāy" and not for "bughā", e. g. Qutlubā, Aybā, Gujbā, (Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, p. ٢٩, Sobernheim, *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit*, p. 15, n. 3).

3) For other examples see Max van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diarbekr* (in: Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, Berlin, 1907) No. 5, p. 13 ff, *MCIA. Jérusalem, Haram*, No. 150, p. 24, Lammens, *Inscriptions arabes du Mont Tabor*, MFO. III, p. 486.

4) *MCIA, Jérusalem, Haram*, No. 150, p. 24.

RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION.

In the course of our excavations we succeeded in discovering remains of the Wall extending over a length of more than 500 m. In the line of this Wall there are portions which, for various reasons, we did not excavate, such as plots covered by buildings erected in recent times, old water cisterns still in use, public roads, and so on. There are places not yet touched, and it is possible that there are other remnants of the Wall still hidden underground. The width of the Wall and the alignments of the portions laid bare in the area of our excavations show beyond doubt that the remains so far discovered belong to one stretch of Wall extending in a west-easterly direction to the north of Jerusalem. As we have shown, buildings were erected on the foundations of this Wall during the Byzantine period, and it is they that preserved some remnants of the Wall from complete destruction. In places where there were no such buildings, the bedding alone was mostly found upon the rock-foundations, all the stones having been removed at various periods for later structures.[1]) In places even the bedding has disappeared having been destroyed by ploughing and tree-planting. Where portions of the old Wall were preserved, there was only one course left, remains of two courses subsisting at a few points only. We found scattered about along the whole length of the Wall stones with central bosses and drafted margins, which certainly belong to the upper courses of the Wall, the smaller ones unbroken, the larger ones in fragments. Among the smaller stones special mention should be made of several discovered near the remnants of the tower west of Nablus Road, showing the central boss on two sides, evidently corner stones from the upper courses of this tower. In front of the American School of Oriental Research, some stones of the Wall were found inserted in the Wall of the old cistern (see fig. 34).

In the same line clear traces of four towers were found projecting northwards about 9-12 m. long. Two of them, one in the west and the other at the eastern end, are relatively well preserved. The two middle towers are less well preserved. At the eastern end remnants of a gate are also visible.

The line of this part of the Wall is, from the topographical point of view, the most important for the protection of the City from the north. It stands on a ridge from which two main valleys start, namely the Tyropoeon Valley and the western confluent to the Kidron Brook, the latter passing in front of Herod's Gate and touching the north eastern corner of the Temple Area before merging into the Kidron (Fig. 42). Any one wanting to enclose the town with a wall from this side could not have chosen a more suitable site than the line on which these remains were actually found.

If we add to the sections of the Wall such portions as, a century ago, were still visible to the west of the area of our excavations, we obtain a line of a total length

1) Merrill (see Appendix p. 71) mentions that in the last century stones were removed from this Wall for the building of the Austrian Hospice in the Old City.

Fig. 42. Mr. Beaumont's relief-map of Jerusalem. The black line indicates the Wall. Note the light falling from the right.

of more than 1 km., extending from the hill on which the Russian Compound stands, down to the present building of the American School of Oriental Research. [1])

The question arises as to the date of this northernmost Wall of Jerusalem.

The terminus ante quem is the Byzantine period because, as stated above, old buildings of that time were found at various points erected over the ruins of this Wall. But during that period the City was growing mainly to the south of the old City of Jerusalem, as proved by the excavations on the Mount of Ophel; it was for that reason that the Empress Eudocia enclosed with a wall the southern part of the City which was not included in the precincts of the town built by Hadrian. To the north of the Eudocian City Wall, which was partly on the line of the present City Walls, only isolated buildings, tombs, and the Church of St. Stephen, were found.

But even the period of Aelia Capitolina cannot be taken into account. The Roman tomb to the west of Nablus Road (see p. 39 f.) was undoubtedly cut after the destruction of the Wall. As is well known, Aelia Capitolina occupied only a part of the City Area; it could not have extended any further in a northern direction than the line of the present City Wall. Besides, the construction of the Wall, which indicates great hurry and precipitation, does not fit in with a period during which the Roman government in Jerusalem had no foes to fear.

This brings us to the period of the Jewish Kingdom.

The closing days of this period are clearly indicated first by the maximum extension of the town, and secondly by the evident necessity under which the masons found themselves to build the Wall at great speed.

The main source for the history of the Walls of Jerusalem during the existence of a Jewish State, especially for the period preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans is, of course, provided by the books of Flavius Josephus. In his History of the Jewish War (Book V, chapter 4, para. 2) Josephus gives an account of the three Walls built at various times to the north of Jerusalem.[2])

" Now, of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of "the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides "that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; "because David, and Solomon, and the following kings were very zealous about this work. "Now that wall began on the North, at the Tower called *Hippicus*, and extended as far "as the *Xistus*, a place so called, joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister "of the Temple. But if we go to the other way westward, it began at the same place, "and extended through a place called *Bethso*, to the gate of the Essens; and after that it "went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends ag-

1) In perusing the descriptions of these remains left by those who saw them (See Appendix), we perceive at once—and this was emphasised by Father Vincent in his article on the Third Wall—that they are not accurate, sometimes even unintelligible, which is due to a certain extent to the many changes in the aspect of the northern suburb of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, they cannot be ignored nor considered as pure *phantôme*, pace Father Vincent. If any doubt could have been entertained as to the actual existence of the ancient remnants noted by these explorers, the section of the Wall laid bare in the course of our excavations, a section that to a great extent coincides with and continues the hypothetical line of the Wall based on their reports, shows clearly that despite all the shortcomings of these descriptions from an archaeological point of view, they yet had a solid foundation.

2) For this and the following quotations Havercamp's revised translation, published by Bigelow, Brown & Co., New York, was used.

"ain towards the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they "called *Ophlas*, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall "took its beginning from that gate which they called *Genneth*, which belonged to the first "wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower "Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached "as far as the northern quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far "extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen "of Adiabene the mother of Izates: it then extended farther to a great length, and passed "by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the "monument which is called the *Monument of the Fuller*, and joined to the old wall at the "valley called the *Valley of Cedron*. It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to "the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more "populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood north-"ward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and "occasioned that hill which is in number the fourth, and is called *Bezetha*, to be inhabited "also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which "was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of Antonia from joining "to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering "the security that arose from its superior elevation, for which reason also that depth of "the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new built part of the "city was called *Bezetha*, in our language, which if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be "called *The New City*. Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father "of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of: "but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, out of the fear he was in "of Claudius Caesar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make "some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken, if that wall had "been finished in the manner it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones "twenty cubits long and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily under-"mined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide, "and it would probably have had an height greater than that, had not his zeal who began "it been hindered from exerting itself. After this, it was erected with great diligence by the "Jews, as high as twenty cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the "entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits."

The wall that interests us is the one covering the biggest area on the northern side of the town, namely the "Third Wall", ("third" either in chronological or in topographical order, if counted from the centre of the city) or the "First Wall", from the point of view of the man approaching the town from the north. Both expressions occur often in the books of Josephus.

The building of this northernmost wall of Jerusalem was started according to Josephus, by Agrippa I. (40-44) and finished by the population of Jerusalem about thirty years later, during the First Revolt against the Romans.

In this connection it is worth while noting a few other passages from Josephus dealing with the same subject. In his narration of the reign of Agrippa, Josephus says (*Wars* II. 11, 6):

" So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion, "nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jeru- "salem with such a wall, which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracti- "cable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Caesarea, "before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him."

In *Antiquities* (XIX. 7, 2) there is a slightly different account of the construction of this wall and the reasons which led to the suspension of the work:

" As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezetha], he "repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth, and higher "in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless "Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Caesar of what he "was doing. And, when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent "to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed; as not "thinking it proper to contradict Claudius."

In comparing these statements concerning the construction of the Third Wall by Agrippa, it becomes obvious that these descriptions do not tally.

First, in two passages (*Wars* V. 4, 2; *Antiquities* XIX. 7, 2), we are told that the construction of the Wall was either stopped by order of Claudius or because Agrippa was afraid lest Claudius should suspect his loyalty to Rome. In a third passage (*Wars* II. 11, 6) Josephus relates that the sudden death of the King brought building activities to an end. This difficulty might be explained by the assumption that Josephus thought that although the King was compelled to interrupt the work, he did not give up hope of completing it at some future date, and that his unforeseen death was, therefore, the reason for the Wall having been left unfinished.

The second difficulty is a more serious one. In the two passages quoted from the *Wars*, Josephus says that Agrippa began building a new wall, in which case there are only two periods of work to be distinguished. But from the *Antiquities* we gather that Agrippa only restored walls that existed before, by enlarging them and making them higher, and, in that case, there are three different periods in the construction of the Third Wall.

Thirdly, what was Agrippa's share in the construction of the Wall? In one passage Josephus narrates that Agrippa laid the foundations of the Wall, and we are given even its measurements, namely ten cubits wide, but we do not know whether Agrippa laid the foundations of the whole wall or only of parts of it.

It may be remarked en passant that there is no evidence that the Wall started by Agrippa was in every detail similar to the buildings which have survived from the days of Herod the Great. Such remnants as are known to us now are mainly portions of the Wall enclosing the Temple Area or the fortress which Herod the Great built next to his palace, all buildings of great magnificence, erected at a time when the political situation

of Palestine was not so much dependent on Rome as in the days of Agrippa. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that Agrippa had to press the construction of the Wall started without the knowledge of the Roman Emperor.[1]) There is no doubt that this king, though he called himself Philokaisar, was in his heart of hearts not entirely on the Roman side. The conference arranged by him in Tiberias with various kings of Western Asia, and very quickly put an end to [2]) by the Roman Governor of Syria, is a clear proof of it. It is possible, therefore, that the construction of the Wall was meant to place the Romans before a fait accompli, which would explain a good deal of the hurry even in that period. [3])

Obviously it was necessary to fix the alignment of the whole wall before building operations were started, but there was no need to lay the foundations of the whole line at once. It was possible to begin with laying them at a given point and proceed from there to the end, or to finish various portions of the wall and join them afterwards. If we only knew how long a time Agrippa was engaged in constructing the Third Wall during the four years of his reign, we might perhaps be in a position to say how much of it he could have built himself.

It is in vain that we turn to Josephus for an answer to this question in the passages dealing with the Third Wall. To obtain material for any solution whatsoever we must refer to his account of the events between the death of Agrippa and the outbreak of the war against the Romans, in which, describing the new suburb of Jerusalem, he mentions en passant that it was quite unprotected by any walls.

In dealing with the attacks of the Roman legions upon the Jews, who at the request of Florus went out to meet them, Josephus says (*Wars* II. 15, 5):-

" The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their "clubs, and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many "fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every-"body was making haste to get before another, the fight of them all was retarded, and "a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down, for they were suffocated, and "broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them "be distinguished by his relations in order to take care of his funeral; the soldiers also "who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, "and thrust the multitude through the place called Bezetha, as they forced their way in "order to gate it and seize upon the temple, and the tower Antonia."

This is clear proof that Bezetha was in those days outside the Walls of the City. Still more clearly is the situation reflected in another passage[4]) mentioning the encounter between the Jews and Cestius (*Wars* II, 19, 4):

1) Schürer[4] I p. 556 called attention to a passage in Tacitus, *Hist.* V. 12 which seems to indicate that Claudius' leniency with regard to the erection of this wall was due to Agrippa's having bribed the emperor's councillors: *Per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto jure muniendi struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum.*

2) *Antiquities* XIX. 8, 1.

3) In the Wall excavated by us there are portions which contrast favourably with other parts of the Wall, e. g. the part to the east of the first tower in Section 2, and a part of the tower to the west of the gate in Section 6; this difference might be explained by referring these portions to Agrippa, but this would be a mere hypothesis to which we do not wish to attach weight.

4) Prof. W.F. Albright considers this passage particularly good evidence that the main work on the Wall was done during the First Revolt.

" And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus [Tishri] "when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they "were kept under by the seditious; but the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at "the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the "inner part of the city, and into the Temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, "he set the part called *Bezetha*, which is called *Cenopolis*, [or the new City] on fire; as "he did also to the timber market: after which he came into the upper city, and pitched "his camp over against the royal palace."

Seeing that the Jews could not defend the suburb Bezetha which was situated outside the Walls, they left it to the mercy of the legions of Cestius. The foundations of the wall laid by Agrippa in order to protect the new suburbs, therefore, had no strategical value whatever during that period.[1])

Consequently, the wall that Titus captured — when entering the town from the north — must have been built *after* the time of Cestius, and built in great haste.

The line of the Wall so far discovered shows clear traces of the hurry and precipitation described by Josephus in *Wars* II. 22, 1. Instead of preparing the rock for the lowest course of stones, the builders contented themselves with putting a layer of small stones, chips and cement between it and the rock. Nor are the stones of the courses invariably of a piece. The joints between them are likewise filled with small stones. In those days the area north of Jerusalem was full of quarries which supplied the stones for private buildings as well as for buildings of the Herodian family, and in those quarries many stones must have remained, either partly or, perhaps, not at all dressed. Among them there may have been well-dressed stones which, for some reason or other, were not suitable for the more magnificent structures of the Temple and its walls or for the fortresses and palaces built by Herod the Great. But in the days of pressure they could not scrutinize too closely the building material owing to the imminent danger of the Roman legions besieging the city. It was, therefore, necessary to take any stones that happened to be handy merely to expedite the work. A wall ten cubits wide and twenty cubits high, without its crenelations, would certainly impress a man from a distance as being very strong (*Wars* V. 6, 2), and, if solidly built, it could have withstood the Roman battering-rams for any length of time. In the light of the portions so far discovered it can easily be understood why the Third Wall fell after only 15 days of siege.

An interesting theory as to the line of this Wall was brought forward by Father Vincent in a series of articles in the Revue Biblique[2]) devoted to this problem. The conclusion reached in these articles is that this Wall is in no way identical with the Third Wall, the line of the latter being identical with that of the present city wall of Jerusalem.

The reasons for the first assumption are chiefly the following:

1) An allusion to the weakness of this site may perhaps be found in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Synhedrin* I. 5 (cf. also Bab. Talmud, *Shebuoth* 16 a) where it is said: "Why have they not consecrated it (namely Bezetha)? Because this was the weak point of Jerusalem and it could be captured from there".

2) *La Troisième Enceinte* 1927, p. 516 ff, 1928, p. 80 ff., 321 ff., especially p. 334 ff.

(1) The masonry of the Wall is poor and indicates a period of great hurry, which does not agree with the days of wealth and prosperity characterising the reign of Agrippa I.

(2) The line of this Wall is not a permanent line of defence.

(3) The Third Wall could not have extended so far northward, as there are no traces of buildings of that period to be found between the present walls of Jerusalem and the line of our excavation.

The line of the Wall according to Father Vincent would fit in much better with the period of Bar Kokhba's revolt (in 131—2 A.D.) and these stones would have been used to obstruct the advance of the mounted troops and battering-rams of the Romans approaching the city. In support of this, Father Vincent lays stress on the following points:

(1) The small stones belonging to the upper courses of the Wall resemble those of the walls of Bethar (Bittir).

(2) The fortification of Jerusalem by Bar Kokhba is mentioned in fragments of a book of the Zadokite sect found by Schechter in the Geniza in Cairo. [1])

This theory is highly original and would be of great interest if proved correct, as supplying tangible evidence of the fortification of Jerusalem by Bar Kokhba, but it is impossible for us to accept it for various reasons.

We shall start with the arguments which, according to Father Vincent, militate against the identification of this Wall with the Third Wall.

We quite agree with Father Vincent's basic contention that the character of this Wall indicates a period of hurry and precipitation. However, as stated earlier in these pages, we consider this the main proof that it is the Third Wall which was started by Agrippa I, but for the most part constructed at the beginning of the war against the Romans. As we have seen before, the words of Josephus do not give a clear idea of Agrippa's share in the construction of the Wall, which, it is obvious, provided no protection to the city during the conflict between the arms of the Jews and Florus and Cestius. The days of wealth and prosperity during the reign of Agrippa, upon which Father Vincent lays such stress in his discussion, cannot therefore be cited against the identification of this Wall with the Third Wall.

The second argument, namely that the line of our Wall is not fit to be a stable line of defence does not, in our opinion, accord with the facts. From a strategical point of view it would be much sounder to include within the city the northern hills near the present walls which are the starting points of the wadis passing through the city, than to leave them undefended and exposed to the advancing enemy.

More important is the third argument of Father Vincent, namely the lack of any trace of occupation during that period in the area between the present wall and the line of our excavation. But as we said above, the line of the Third Wall was planned by Agrippa, and his reign marked the last days of splendour of the Jewish Kingdom and of the growth

1) *Fragments of a Zadokite work* (in : *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. 1.) Cambridge, 1910.

of Jerusalem. Religious ceremonies which, according to the Mishna, [1]) were performed or attended by the king, must have brought many Jews from the Diaspora to Jerusalem, and a king considering not merely the present, but also the future, would not build the walls of his capital on the immediate outskirts of the occupied area, but would leave sufficient space for later expansion [2]). That the new City was not inhabited everywhere to the same degree is well known from a passage in *Wars* V. 6, 2, where it is stated in connexion with the strategical plans of Titus that "the builders neglected to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited."

We now come to Father Vincent's interpretation of this wall, namely the fortification of the city by Bar Kokhba. It seems to us astonishing that Father Vincent should at the same time believe, 1) that Jerusalem, when it was at the zenith of its prosperity as the capital of Palestine, had no apparent need to expand northwards beyond the area enclosed by the present city wall, and 2) that Jerusalem during the Second Revolt, largely destroyed as it was, and with a population, according to all the scholars who have expressed their views on the subject, amounting to merely a fraction of what it was two generations earlier, should have a wall built at least half a kilometre to the north of the northernmost wall erected during the previous period. [3])

From a strategical point of view, and only strategical canside rations carried any weight then, it would have been desirable that the line of defence should be as short as possible. Should we not expect then that Bar Kokhba would re-erect the Third Wall on its original site instead of wasting his people's labour on carrying stones from the destroyed wall to the hill-tops to the north of the city and on cutting new foundations? If it was only meant to obstruct the Roman cavalry approaching the town, it would have sufficed to pile up heaps of stones without constructing walls and towers. [4])

In support of his theory, Father Vincent cites the fact that the small stones found along the Wall are similar to those in the fortress of Bittir. But whilst the walls of Bittir consist wholly of such small stones, these were used solely in the upper courses of our Wall, perhaps even in the crenelation only; in any case, the time which elapsed between the erection of these two walls was not long enough to justify the assumption of a greater difference in style between two structures erected in the same district, by the same population, for the same purpose.

The last pages of Father Vincent's article are devoted to the explanation of a few lines in the "Fragments of a Zadokite Work", which, in his opinion, mention the walls of Jerusalem built by Bar Kokhba. For the sake of convenience we repeat the relevant passages in Schechter's translation:

1) *Sota* VII. 8.

2) Agrippa, as stated by Josephus (*Antiquities* XIX. 6, 3) freed the landlords from paying house taxes. Such a measure always proves a stimulus to building.

3) Epiphanius (*De mensuris* XIV m.) tells us that Hadrian found the city rased to the ground with only a few houses standing.

4) Despite the hasty construction of this line of defence, its character is clearly that of a city wall with towers and a gate, perhaps even with several gates. Father Vincent insists on the fact that in the area of our excavations, extending for a length of about 550 m., there are only about 200 m. of actual remnants of the Wall; but this argument is not strong enough to prevent these remains, all built along a straight line, from being considered as an original part of a continuous line of wall.

FRAGMENT A, P. 8 (XLII), LINES 8—13.

"And they cast off restraint with an high hand to walk in the way of the wicked; concerning whom God said, 'Their wine is the poison of dragons and the head of asps that is cruel'. The dragons are the Kings of the nations and their wine is their ways, and the head of the asps is the head of the Kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them. But upon all these things they meditated not who builded the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar. For one confused of spirit and who dropped lies prophesized to them that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation."

FRAGMENT A, P. 8 (XLII—XLIII), LINES 18—19.

"But in his hatred of them who builded the wall His wrath was kindled. And like unto this judgment it will be for everyone who despises the commandments of God, and he forsook them and they turned away in the stubbornness of their heart."

With these passages two other fragments should be compared:

FRAGMENT B, P. 19 (XLII), LINES 21—26.

"And they cast off restraint with an high hand to walk in the ways of the wicked concerning whom God said, 'Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the head of asps that is cruel'. The dragons are the Kings of the Nations and the wine is their ways, and the head of asps is the head of the Kings of Javan who came to execute vengeance upon them. But upon all these things they meditated not who builded the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar. For the man walking in wind and weighing storms the prophet of man to lie that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation."

FRAGMENT B, P. 19 (XLII—XLIII), LINES 31—32.

"But God hates and despises them who builded the wall and His wrath was kindled against them and against all who walk after them. And like unto this judgment it will be for everyone who despises the commandments of God, and he forsook them and they turned away in the stubbornness of their heart."

Without entering upon a discussion as to whether these passages actually contain an allusion to Bar Kokhba's revolt, we wish to point out that it is extremely difficult to accept the view that the words "built the Wall" and "daubed it with untempered mortar", taken from Ezechiel 13, 10, were supposed to refer to a real wall. It seems to us that the lines preceding these words show quite clearly that the author of this book was using metaphors, and that his expressions are not to be taken in their literal sense, just as little as in his utterance against the false prophets, Ezechiel himself meant that they were build-

ing real walls. Schechter thought that these words were an attack on the Pharisees, whom the author derides as builders of fences or walls to protect the law, whilst in truth they were the worst offenders.

But we cannot ignore the fact that, in the present stage of research, this book should not be used as a historical source at all. There is the same absence of agreement among scholars as to its character and relation to Jewish orthodoxy as there is with regard to the date of its composition. Eduard Meyer, George Foot Moore and Gressmann think that the book was compiled during the Seleucid period; L. Ginzberg, and a few others believe that it was written shortly before the destruction of the Second Temple, whilst Father Lagrange dates it not later than the end of the second century A. D. On the other hand, A. Büchler and Margoliouth consider it a product of the 7th or 8th century, and Marmorstein even goes so far as to date it the 10th or 11th century.

Let us conclude this chapter with a quotation from the *Wars* (II. 22, 1) which gives a good picture of the conditions under which the Third Wall was built:—

" And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, when, upon their ceasing to
" prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war
" with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Ananus, and as many of the men
" of power as were not in the interest of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a
" great many warlike instruments, insomuch that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts
" of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men were engaged
" in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings . . .'

We think that our excavations have brought to light the Wall built in those days.

APPENDIX.

We have gathered together twelve reports — more were not available in Jerusalem— written within the last four centuries by some of the eye-witnesses of the remains of an ancient wall to the north of Jerusalem. Although the problem of the Third Wall enters now a new phase, these reports—unsatisfactory as they sometimes are—still form a welcome addition to the results of the actual spadework.

Fr. Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationen ed. C. D. Hassler. Vol. II. p. 118f.

Consequenter processimus satis per longum tractum supra fossata usque ad angulum aquilonarem, in quo murus occidentalis jungitur muro aquilonari. Ante hunc angulum est quaedam altitudo et terrae tumor, in quo ruinae murorum sunt; ibi etiam quondam stetit turris altissima, quae dicebatur Phaselus vel Psaefinas Hippicus, a qua fuit prospectus ad utrumque mare, orientale scilicet, quod est mare mortuum, et ad mare occidentale, quod est mare nostrum magnum mediterraneum, ut habet Josephus de bello Judaico l. VI. cap. 8. De quo tamen miratus sum saepe, cum civitas sancta ad occidentem habeat montana supereminentia civitati.

Ab hoc ergo angulo vertimus nos contra orientem, et supra fossata processimus. Ibi vidimus magnam partem antiquorum murorum; fuit enim murus duplicatus, ita quod per medium ejus fuit transitus intra murum, inferius et superius, et rupes, supra quas murus fundatus est, in multis locis erant arte quadratae, supra quas turres steterant.[1])

Pococke, Richard: A Description of the East and some other Countries. Volume II. London 1745, p. 19.

Endeavouring to trace the wall round Bezetha, I thought I saw some imperfect remains of it stretching about a quarter of a mile to the south[2]) from the north west corner of the present walls, to which a point of Acra might extend. I imagined I saw the corner of this wall to the north west, and signs of a fossee extending to the east, near a long cistern, which is south of the mount of soap ashes, and so along over the valley of Croum, that is, of gardens or vineyards; and likewise to the south of what they call the sepulchres of the kings; and then to the eastern valley, where, turning south, it joined the second wall. This seems probable, because the situation of the mount of soap ashes just without the walls is very natural. These gardens also seem to be those where Titus was in such great danger when he came to reconnoitre the city.

1) Fabri's words—*the wall was two-fold . . . above and below*—seem to indicate that besides the City Walls, which in his day, 1480-83, were in ruins, he also saw the remains of other walls further to the north, namely those of the Third Wall, which was built on a higher level than the walls of the 15th century, or the present City Walls.

2) The well-known mistake for "north".

Robinson, Edward: Biblical Researches in Palestine. Vol. I, Boston 1841, pp. 314 - 315.

We suppose that we found traces of Agrippa's Wall on its northwest part. I first came upon them accidentally, in returning one evening with Mr. Whiting from the Tombs of the Kings along the path leading up to the Yâfa gate. A few days after, in passing the same way with Messrs. Smith and Lanneau we examined them more leisurely. On the East of the said path, in the field about half way between those tombs and the northwest corner of the city, we noticed foundations, which belonged very distinctly to the third Wall; consisting of large hewn blocks of stone of a character corresponding to other works of those ages. On the right of the path, and running up the hill in a line with the above, were other similar foundations; and still further up were stones of the like kind apparently displaced. By following the general direction of these, and of several scarped rocks which had apparently been the foundations of towers or the like, we succeeded in tracing the wall in zigzags in a westerly course for much of the way to the top of the high ground. Here are the evident substructions of towers or other fortifications, extending for some distance; and from them to the northwest corner of the city, the foundation of the ancient wall is very distinctly visible along the hard surface of the ground. Within the corner of the modern walls is also a trace of the ancient one, to which we shall recur again presently.

The next day, April 28th, we took measurements of these foundations, so far as we could determine the various points, as follows; beginning at the northwest corner of the city.

1. N. 26° W. 700 feet to the foundations of a large tower
2. N. 20° W. 650 feet across other foundations of towers etc.
3. N. 10° E. 336 feet to another point; the intervening wall not traceable
4. N. 100 feet to foundations etc.
5. E. 400 feet to the path
6. N. 20° E. 456 feet along the path
7. N. 75° E. 264 feet to the end of the large hewn stones first seen.

In the courses No. 5 and 6 there was some uncertainty. Hewn rocks lay to the west in a line with the course No. 7. We therefore returned to the end of No. 4 and measured new courses as follows:

5. N. 40° E. to hewn rocks, apparently the foundation of a tower
6. N. 75° E. 200 feet to the path, at the end of the former No. 6
7. N. 75° E. 264 feet to the hewn stones as before.

Beyond this point we were unable to trace any thing; unless perhaps the foundation of a tower hewn in the rock towards the northeast, but quite uncertain. A like search along the brow of the valley of Jehoshaphat, was also in vain. Indeed, the level ground on this side of the city has now been ploughed over for ages, and the stones carried off or thrown together to form terraces; so that all traces of former foundations have nearly disappeared. Many ancient cisterns however still remain; and marble tesserae are often picked up.

Krafft, W.: Die Topographie Jerusalem's. Bonn 1846, p. 36 ff.

Spuren dieser dritten Mauer, die zunächst dem Lauf der heutigen Mauer vom Jaffathor bis an die nordwestliche Ecke der heutigen Stadt folgte, haben Robinson und Schulz über diese Ecke hinaus bis zur höchsten Erhebung des Terrains erkennen zu können geglaubt, wo sie bei alten Grundmauern anlangen, die dem Psephinusturm angehört haben sollen und an denen vielleicht noch die octogonische Form wieder zu erkennen sei. Von den wahrscheinlichen Fundamenten des Psephinus ausgehend, findet Schulz mit viel grösserer Evidenz... die Reste von noch drei kleineren Thürmen...

Was nun diese wenigen angeblichen Reste der dritten Mauer betrifft, die Robinson und Schulz aufweisen, so hat mich eine oft wiederholte Untersuchung derselben dahin geführt, in ihnen nur Reste zerstreuter Bauten der verschiedensten Zeiten zu erkennen, die nie zu einer grossen Stadtmauer zusammengehört haben. Die hier zur Sprache kommenden Grundmauern, die meist nur an die Oberfläche des Bodens reichen, bestehen aus losem schlechten Kittgemäuer ohne Quaderbekleidung und sind hier breit und da schmäler. Die angeblichen Spuren des Psephinus—Thurmes, in denen eine grosse Cisterne liegt, zeigen aufs deutlichste eine quadratische Substruction. Die von dem Psephinus in fast grade nördlicher Richtung liegenden angeblichen drei kleinen Thürme, Cisternen, sind von viel zu schlechtem Material und in zu unregelmässigen Formen, als dass sie je zu einer Mauer zusammengehört haben sollten. Was endlich jene deutlichsten Spuren auf der östlichen Seite der von Süden herkommenden Strasse betrifft, so unterscheiden sie sich allerdings von den früher erwähnten Resten dadurch, dass hier Felsblöcke an einer Seite abgeschrägt an die Oberfläche des Bodens treten, aber da sich nur auf einer sehr kleinen Strecke finden und zwar nachher nicht unter der Erde verschwinden, sondern ganz aufhören, kann man nicht daran denken, dass sie einer fortlaufenden Stadtmauer angehört, sondern zu einem anderen Zwecke gedient haben, etwa zum Einschluss eines Teiches, wie wir noch grössere Quadern als hier, ein wenig südlich von den sogenannten Königsgräbern, östlich von der Strasse nach Nabulus zu einem Teiche verwandt finden, oder zur Abgrenzung der Gärten.

Schultz, Ernst Gustav: Jerusalem. (Eine Vorlesung). Berlin 1845, 62 ff.

Spuren dieser Mauer, welche zunächst dem Lauf der heutigen Mauer vom Jaffator bis an die nächste nordwestliche Ecke gefolgt sein muss, liegen darüber hinaus und unverkennbar bis zur höchsten Erhebung des Terrains, wo sie bei alten Grundlagen anlagen, die gewiss dem Turm Psephinus angehörten und an denen vielleicht noch die achteckige Form desselben wiederzuerkennen ist. Eine mächtige Zisterne liegt in der Mitte derselben. Von hier aus lief die Mauer, nach Josephus, weiter fort, den Gräbern der Helena, Königin von Adiabene, gegenüber. Die Lage dieser Gräber ist einstweilen unbestimmt. Dagegen führen uns hier Ruinen sicherer als irgend eine Beschreibung. Von den wahrscheinlichen Fundamenten des Psephinus ausgehend, findet man, mit viel grösserer Evidenz, als es Robinson vorgekommen zu sein scheint, in fast gerade nördlicher Richtung die Reste von noch drei kleineren Türmen, so dass die Linie sich gerade

an dem Kranz des nach Osten abschüssigen Terrains hinzieht. Die äusserste Ecke bildet eine, in der ungefähren Richtung von Südwest nach Nordost, langgestreckte Zisterne. Von hier ab nehmen die Spuren der Mauer, wie Sie es auf dem Plan verfolgen können, eine nordöstliche Wendung und werden an der östlichen Seite der von Süden herkommenden Strasse deutlicher als je zuvor. Zwischen den kolossalen Fundamenten, die hier liegen, und der obengenannten wichtigen Zisterne, ungefähr auf ein Dritteil des Weges findet sich ein grosser den vorigen ganz ähnlicher und genau wie jene Fundamente gerichteter Stein. Ungefähr auf der Hälfte zwischen diesem Stein und der Zisterne sind Reste eines Turms. Bei jenen Fundamenten verlieren sich die ganz unzweideutigen Spuren der Mauer, die wir bisher verfolgt haben.

Robinson, Edward: Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent Regions. A Journal of Travel in the year 1852. Boston 1874, p. 201.

We left the Damascus gate at 12 o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Calman, who desired with us to look at the large mounds of ashes on the north of the city. In order to reach them we took a path branching off on the left of the direct northern road; and were struck as often before, with the great number of ancient cisterns still seen in this quarter, indicating beyond all question that this whole tract was once covered by the streets and dwellings of the city. Just by our path were seen in one place the massive foundations of a thick wall, on a line with the traces of the third wall, which we had formerly found. We were told also of other similar foundations on the swell of ground south or southeasterly from the Tomb of Helena, or Tombs of the Kings, so called; but these we were unable to visit.

Tobler, Titus: Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen. Erstes Buch. Die Heilige Stadt, Berlin 1853, p. 117-118.

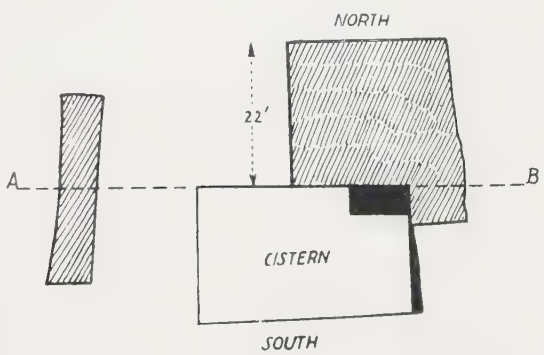
Ich gab mir oft Mühe, Spuren von dieser Mauer aufzusuchen; ich fand jedoch sehr grosse Schwierigkeiten, und am Ende aller Bemühungen bin ich nicht so glücklich, mir nachrühmen zu können, dass ich zu einem wünschbaren Ergebnisse gelangte. Ich werde nun meine eigenen Messungen und Beobachtungen mittheilen. Ich glaube, man müsse, wenn man die dritte Mauer suchen will, nicht bloss das Geschichtsbuch in der Hand haben, sondern auch und vielleicht zuerst über die Terrainverhältnisse, wenn ich so sagen darf, strategischen Blick werfen. Die Thalung (el-Wâd) auf der Nordseite ausser der Stadt und die obere und mittlere Ben Hinnoms scheidet ein Erd- oder Felsrücken. Wollte man eine Mauer aufführen, so durfte sie wohl nicht unter diesem Rücken gegen Mitternacht fortgezogen werden, weil dadurch dem Feinde zum Angriffe oder zur Vertheidigung der Vortheil in die Hände gespielt worden wäre. Daher musste die Mauer hoch genug auf dem Rücken fortlaufen. In der Tat findet man auch hier von der N. W.- Ecke der Stadt aus eine wallartige Linie gegen NW. Zunächst sah ich einen 300 Schritte von jener Ecke entfernten, etwa 3 bis 4' erhöhten, wirklich sich

auszeichnenden Platz von 75 Schritten ins Gevierte, dessen eine Seite O. 20° N. läuft; mit einer Zisterne in der Mitte. Von da in gleicher NW.-Richtung 140 Schritte stösst man auf Reste von Türmen. Von hier an gleich östlich neben einem Turmwalle beginnt eine Art Bollwerk, das sich in einer Linie O. 10° N. 80 Schritte weit erstreckt. Erst hier, wo man in SW. eine weitere Aussicht auf die Landschaft hinab geniesst, verlässt man die Höhe des Rückens. Am Ende dieser 80 Schritte kommt die Grundlage einer Mauer; 11 Schritte östlich eine Felsgrundlage, die 4 Schritte nördlich umbiegt. Von hier an geht's 40 Schritte O., dann 100 Schritte N., darauf 27 O., aber undeutlich, bis ich nach 150 Schritten O. 30° N. zu einem gehauenen Felsblocke gelangte. Von hier führten mich 63 Schritte weiter O. 5° N. zu einem Steine nahe westlich am Wege nach Lifta und noch weitere 84 Schritte O. 16° N. über dem Wege (östlich) zu zugehauenen Steinen. Von hier 26 Schritte ferner hinab NO. bietet sich eine gehauene, 16 Schritte lange Steinlinie dar, von welcher 90 Schritte N. 64° O. weiter hinab ich zu einer künstlichen Felsvertiefung von grösserem Umfange kam. Neben dieser zeigt sich eine kurze Grundlage einer Mauer, die O. 25° N. weiset. Von dieser Stelle oder von der Steinlinie an konnte ich nirgends, weder in der Nähe der Königsgräber noch zwischen hier und dem Stephansthore und Mariengrab, in der ganzen gegebenen Linie über dem Tal Josaphat eine Spur ausfindig machen, obschon ich diese Gegend oft und aufmerksam durchstreifte. Von jener grossen Felsvertiefung stellt sich der Grabdom der grossen Auferstehungskirche S. 23° O. und ich zählte von jener bis zur NW.-Ecke der Stadt auf dem Liftaer Wege 962 Schritte.

Wilson, Charles W.: Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, 1865, p. 72 f.

EXCAVATION No. II (Sketch 1, Plate XXVI).

This was made at some remarkable large stones dressed like those at the Wailing Place, and situated in the side of a cistern to the right of the great north road. In the sketch, A B is the direction in which the line of large stones runs, the hatched portion

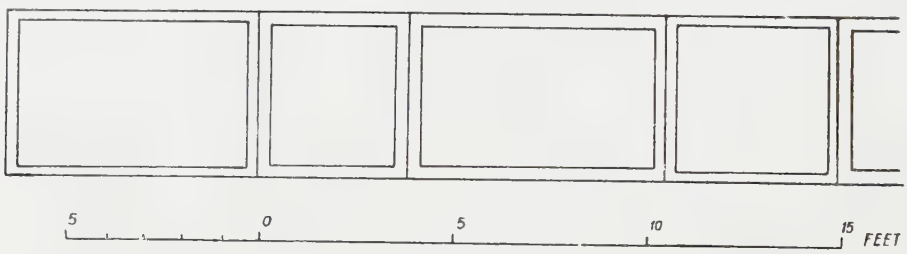


shows where excavations were made, and the dark portion marks the point where a pit was sunk in the cistern. On opening the ground behind the large stones, a number of small cisterns were discovered, which appeared to have been used for keeping oil; they were ranged one behind the other, and divided by party walls of well—built masonry; the cement on all of them was in a perfect state. Towards the west beyond

the cistern a trench was dug across the line of the stones, but at a depth of 6 feet 2 inches nothing was found but loose earth and stones. At the eastern end of the large stones the excavation was carried down to the rock, and here a large quantity of broken pottery and portions of white marble casing were found, with some plainly dressed stones, such as would be used in the walls of a house. In the cistern itself a shaft was sunk, to the depth of seven feet in front of the stones; the excavation passed through rich soil, and the face of the cistern below the large stones was uncovered; the rock was here covered with a lining of small stones and cement, in the same manner as the other pools, and after ascertaining its character it was not considered advisable to incur further expense by continuing the shaft to the bottom.

EXCAVATION No. III (Sketch 2, Plate XXVI).

This was made in front of what seemed to be a row of large stones, in the same line as those in the cistern mentioned above, but a considerable distance to the west; a trench 3 feet 5 inches broad and 22 feet long was opened, disclosing a row of large stones with drafted margins, 4 feet 4 inches in height, and standing on the rock. The draft was from 3 inches to 4 inches broad, and the faces were left in a rough unfinished state, projecting in some instances as much as 6 inches, in the same manner as the rougher



portion of the masonry between the Golden Gateway and the south-east angle of the Haram wall. The rock had not been prepared to receive the beds of the stones, which were pinned up by smaller ones placed beneath them. The stones had an average depth of 9 feet 7 inches on the bed, but beyond this and also in front of the line were large stones scattered about without any design or arrangement. The row of stones could be traced for some distance west of the part excavated.

Finn, Mrs. E. A.: Note on "The Remains of old wall outside the present north wall of Jerusalem". Q. St. 1889, p. 205.

These stones were of hard, compact white limestone, without polish, but not much wheathered. When Jerusalem became more visited, and when foreigners settled and began to erect large buildings, these venerable stones gradually disappeared, they were taken to be cut up and sold for use in modern buildings. The same fate befell the line of similar stones to the left of the path leading from the north-west corner of Jerusalem, in the

direction of the ash-heaps north of the olive grove. We also were sorrowful witnesses of the gradual destruction of the beautiful sarcophagus (without lid) which lay outside the city wall, a little to the west of Herod's Gate, which the then authorities refused to have removed to a place of safety. At the time of which I speak there were also fragments of ancient building — stones on either side, north and south, outside of the Damascus Gate (before the rubbish heaps were made), which led us to think that here might be found two towers, perhaps the "Women's Towers" of Josephus.

Schick, C.: Tombs, or Remainder of Third Wall? Q. St. 1895, pp. 30-32.

Since 1841, when Robinson opened a controversy respecting the lines, not only of the "first" and "second" walls, but of the "*third*" also, many visitors have tried to find out the place itself, the traces of the latter indicated on his map, but with various and conflicting results. I myself also, when coming five years later to Jerusalem, examined carefully what Robinson had said, but found that only part of the remains which he mentions with "hewn stones" had been really once a strong wall, all the others beeing merely heaps of earth of no great height. In order to know whether masonry was under these, excavations were required which for a long time were not made, and so the question was not decided. About 28 years ago Sir Charles Wilson commissioned me to look carefully on the ground for other remains which might indicate a continuation of the line of the wall. Robinson's last-mentioned remains, where his line abruptly ends, were about 225 feet east of the road going from the north-west corner of the city to the large ash heap (the so-called Nâblus road). About 15 years ago a house was built in the neighbourhood, and these stones were removed and used for it, so that at present one may look in vain for these traces of old walls. It was a wall of about 7 feet thick. Further east from this place there is a cistern, and near to it some large stones, not exactly in one line, so that if they once belonged to the city wall the latter must have formed here a kind of corner, as shown in the plan.

About 550 feet east of it, and beyond the main road to Nâblus and Damascus, is a kind of square-shaped pool, marked "1" in plan, sunk into the level ground. The north side of this pool consists of very large and well-hewn stones, with "bevels" round about, so that they may be considered as Jewish, and would also somewhat agree with what Josephus says of the stones of Agrippa's third wall. Hence many brought these stones as proofs that the third wall had its course here. Robinson and many others have not observed them. These stones are quite different from those of which Dr. Robinson speaks, but similar to those in the Temple wall, in measure as high as the highest found in Jerusalem, but not so long as several in the Temple wall. Their face is towards the city, whereas if they belonged to the city wall their face would be on the other or outer side; and further, as I have by digging not found any traces east and west of them, I am convinced they have not belonged to a city wall, but to some monument. It is rather remarkable that I could not find in any book any notice of these stones.

About 20 years ago I made excavations there (as already mentioned) to find out continuation on either side, but immediately westward I found the rock, and in it rock-hewn tombs; also in searching the north side of the wall I came soon to the rock, and ascertained that the thickness of the wall is 14 feet. I intended to dig also on the east, but then the proprietor of the ground hindered me. It seems that there is no continuation eastwards. Thinking the matter over and over again, I came to the conclusion that it was *not a wall* in the general meaning, but simply a tomb monument, and this "pool", if we may call it so, simply the court sunk into the ground, like that at the "tombs of the kings", only much smaller. In the immediate neighbourhood there are more similar tanks, as may be seen on the plan; Once a stair went down into them, and in one of the side walls was the small entrance to the tombs. Afterwards, in the Mohammedan time, these sunken courts were converted into pools for water, the sides being covered with masonry of small stones and then cemented. If this masonry were taken away again I am sure that behind it would be found in each of these pools an opening to rock-cut tombs, and very likely found old relics. About 300 feet north of these stones stood a short marble pillar (at "4"), which is shown in the Ordnance Survey Plan, where always I thought something might be found underneath. Recent excavations made by the proprietor showed that there too are rock-cut tombs, and such are also in the place of the Dominican Brethren, and west of it. So thus we see that in this comparatively level ground are in all directions ancient rock-cut tombs, which speaks against the idea that the city once extended to here.

With regard to the large stones, wich are only four in number, and make a wall 30 feet long, I think that over them were some layers more, forming a monument. I think, further, that if the pool in which trees are now standing, which proves that there is a good layer of earth, were cleared out, and the cement masonry taken away, the entrance to rock-cut tombs would appear under this wall and north of it, as there I found the rock near the surface of the ground.

Jews are now residing in the neighbourhood, and cast their rubbish into this pool, so that in a few years it will be filled up and disappear.

I mention all this in the hope that excavations may be made. The proprietors woudl probably give permission.

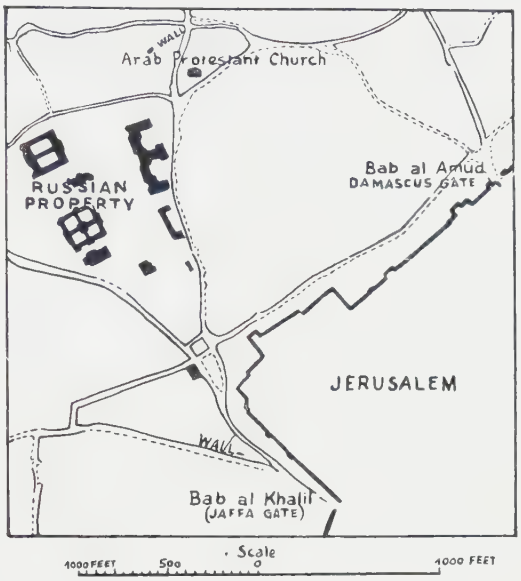
Merill, Selah: Notes from Jerusalem. Q. St. 1903, p. 158f.

Two hundred feet north of the Arabic (St. Paul's) Church two roads —one running east and west, and the other north and south— intersect. In the south-west angle thus formed these remains were found. The point is 150 feet south of the road running east and west, the same distance from the one running north and south, and not far from 200 or 250 feet from the Arabic Church, at a point a little north of west.

The wall is about 20 feet long, and composed of two layers, the bottom layer longer than the upper layer. The stones are 3½, 4½ and 5 feet long, and have a bevel of 3 inches. The wall is 6 feet high. In levelling a piece of ground and making a cistern

this wall was uncovered; but some of the stones were broken up, and others were covered--at all events, the wall was ruined.

These remains correspond to the line of Agrippa's Wall, as laid down by Dr. Robinson from extensive sections of it then in existence. When I first visited Jerusalem one of the first things to do was to visit Agrippa's Wall, of which 40 or 50 yards were visi-



ble. This was in 1869. Much of the wall had previously been broken up to supply stones for the new Austrian hospice. Many people now living in Jerusalem remember this wall perfectly well. It is not more than 20 years since the last massive blocks of it that remained above ground, to the north-west of the city, were broken up. In this connection I will mention a fact with which I have become acquainted during the past few years — namely, that certain persons ignore this wall, and declare that it never existed. This is dishonest, and in those who have the means in their hands of knowing better, is extremely reprehensible.

Paton, Lewis Bayles: The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Line. Journal of Biblical Literature, XXIV, 1905, pp. 196-211.

p. 209. We started at the northeast corner and ran a trench northward through the immense heap of earth that Schick had taken out of the cistern. We found an uneven rock surface rising toward the north and divided up by cemented partitions into sections three or four feet square rising one above another and opening into one another. These were evidently designed to catch mud in the water flowing off the surface and prevent its coming into the cistern. I could see no traces of the oil-tanks that Wilson thought he recognized, unless he regarded this filtering system as a series of oil receptacles. In spite of Schick's assertion that the "thickness of the wall is fourteen feet" I found no trace of a north face opposite to the one exposed in the tank. A tunnel pushed northward

as far as we dared to go showed no end to the rock surface. It thus became evident that we were not dealing with hewn stones, but merely with a face of native rock that had been dressed to simulate stones. In order to make sure whether this were the case, I ran another trench westward along the top of the wall to the point where the first stone ended, and there found that the separation between the stones extended only four inches from the south face, and that beyond that depth the two stones formed one continuous mass of rock. This fact was not discovered either by Wilson or Schick, and I confess that it was a great surprise to me. The stones have all the appearance of the great stones in the enclosing wall of the Haram. In most places the space between them is so small that a knife's blade cannot be inserted, in other places the blade may be thrust in up to the handle. Who would have supposed that the drafting and the lines between the stones were all a fraud? I had the workmen pull out the grass from the joints and examine them carefully, and it then appeared that the joints were drilled with some narrow instrument to a depth of about four inches. On these stones Conder remarks in the article "Jerusalem" in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible,* vol. II. p. 596, "There are some fine stones in the side of a tank farther north, which may have belonged to the third wall, but they are not apparently *in* (p. 210) *situ*". In the light of the investigation just described this view is impossible. These supposed stones are native rock, and are therefore very much *in situ*.

The next question to be investigated was whether this rock cutting extended farther east and west than the portion exposed on the side of the cistern. Both Wilson and Schick had dug westward and had found no continuation. I contented myself, therefore, with merely exposing the north-west corner of the cistern. Here I found that the wall descended in two steps to level rock, and that there was no evidence of its having continued farther westward. I also dug at the northeast corner of the cistern and found the wall descending again in two steps to level rock. We ran a trench some distance and cut two cross trenches in hope of picking up the wall again, but without results.... I should like to see a more thorough investigation of the ground east of the wall.... The only remaining theory is, that they (the stones) served as foundations for some sort of building.... (p. 211).... On the whole therefore, the most likely theory seems to me to be that in these stones we have the only remains now visible of the third wall of Jerusalem.

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EXPLANATION OF LETTERS

A	*Stones*
B	*Rock*
E	*Rubble wall (debesh)*
F	*Tomb*
H	*Steps*
J	*Trench*
K	*Cistern*
L	*Odd stones*
N	*Flag—stones*
P	*Mosaics*
R	*Unexcavated earth*
U	*Vat*
V	*Water—channel*

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St. George's Cathedral
To the Tombs of the Kings
American School of Oriental Research
Department of Antiquities
École Biblique
Russian Compound
Church of the Holy Sepulchre
Haram Area
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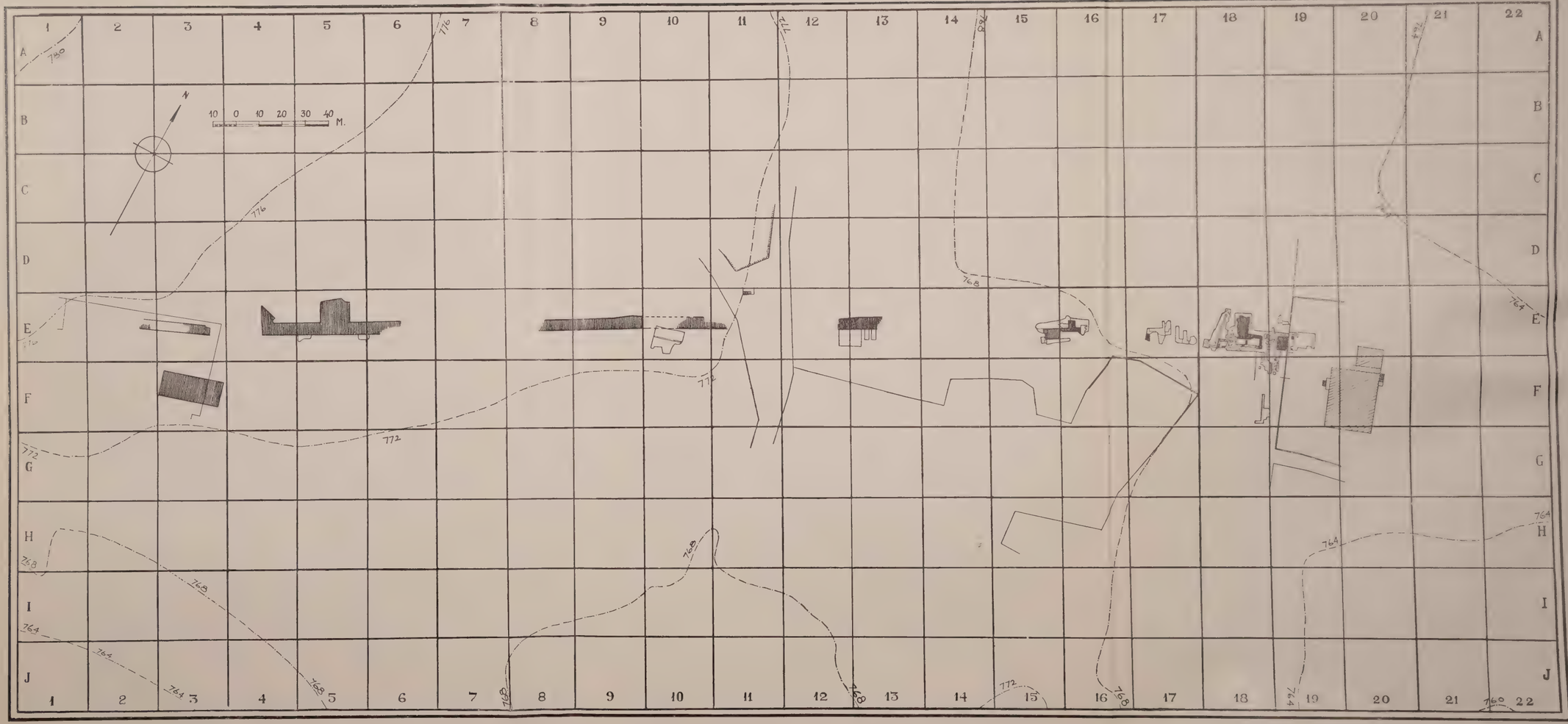
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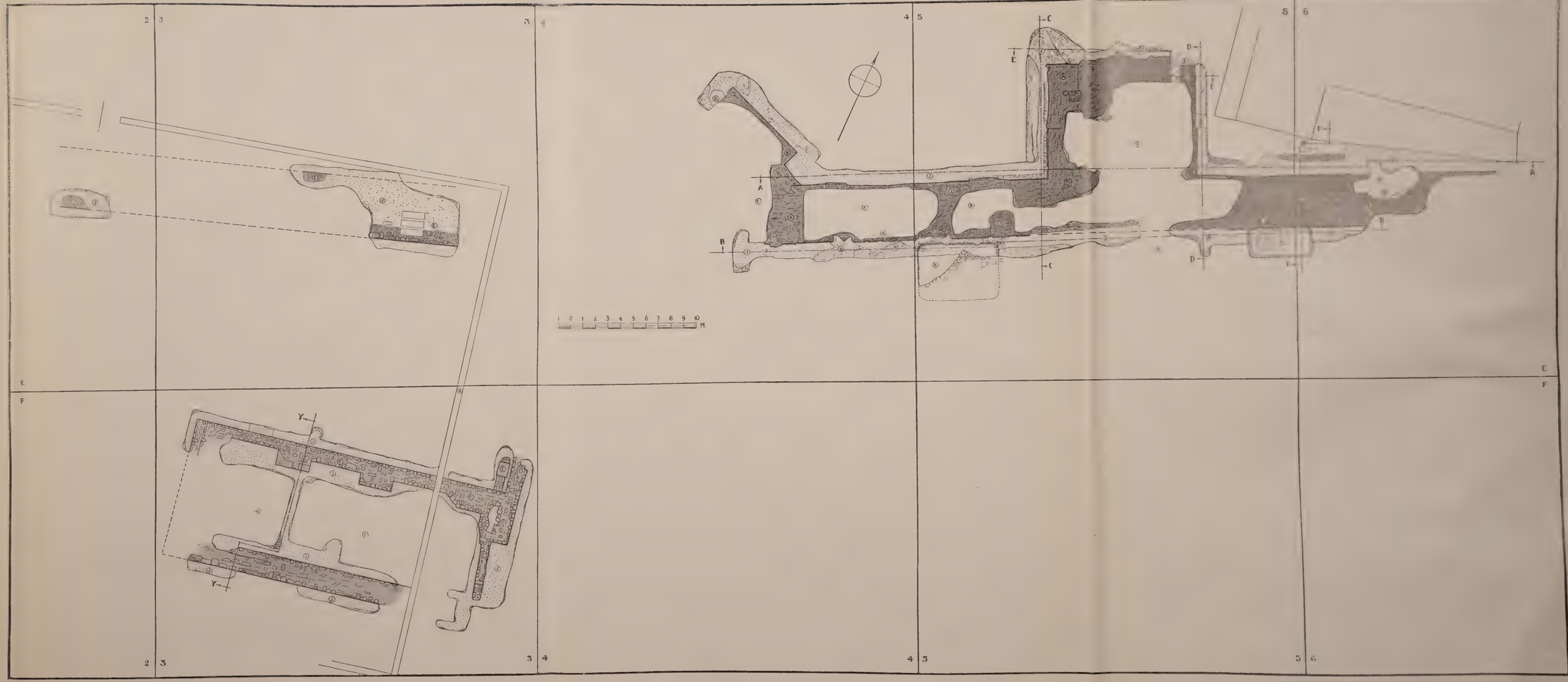
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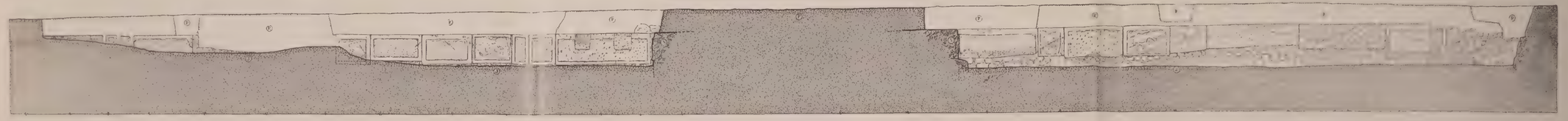

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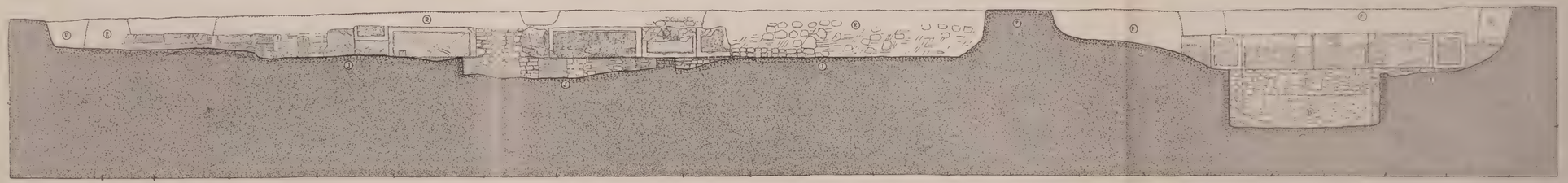

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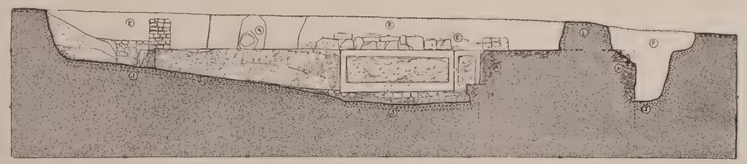

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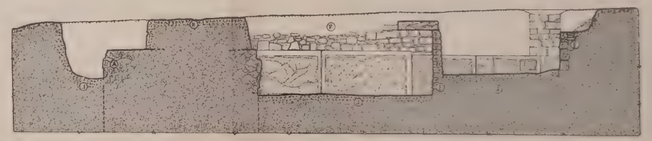

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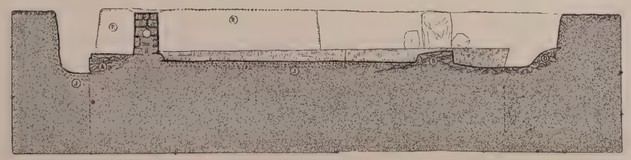

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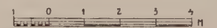

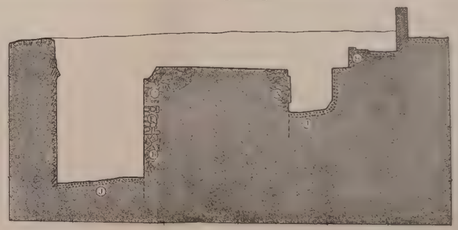

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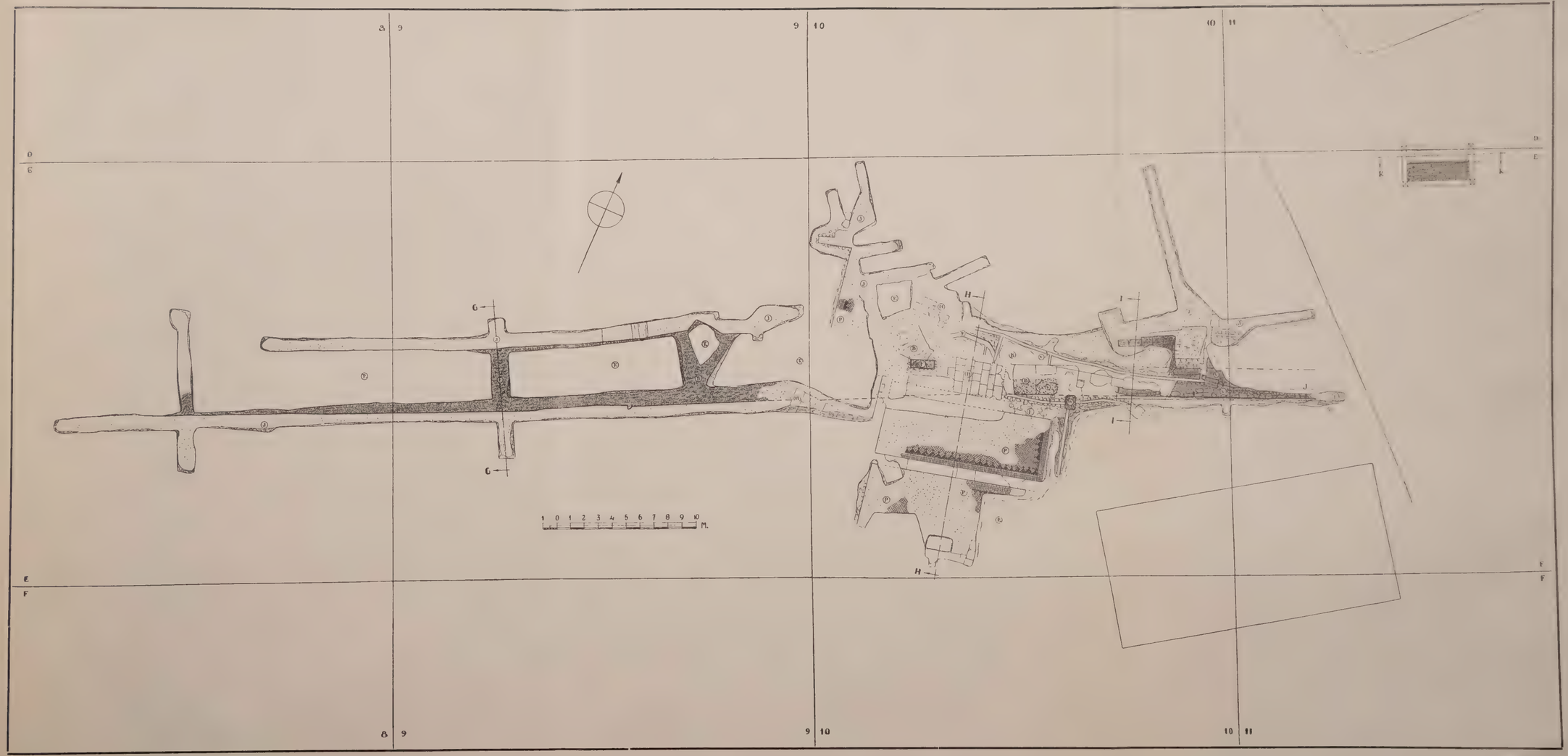
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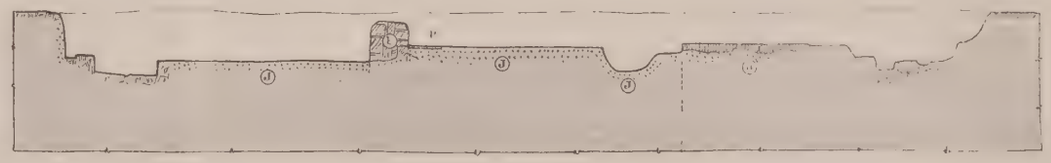

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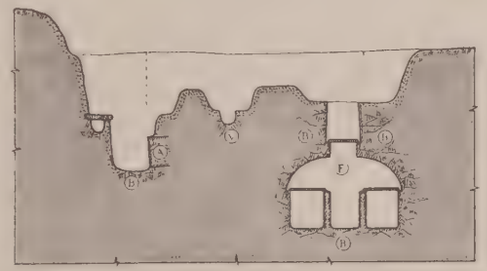

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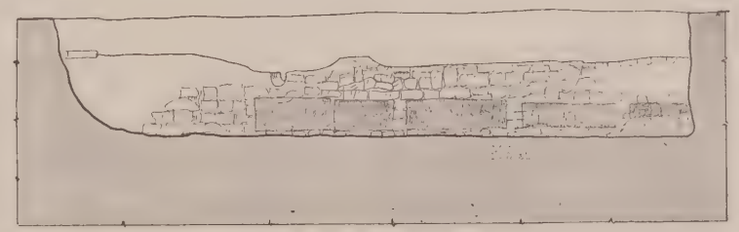

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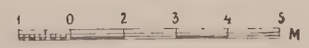

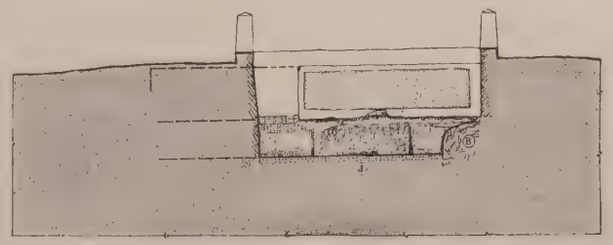

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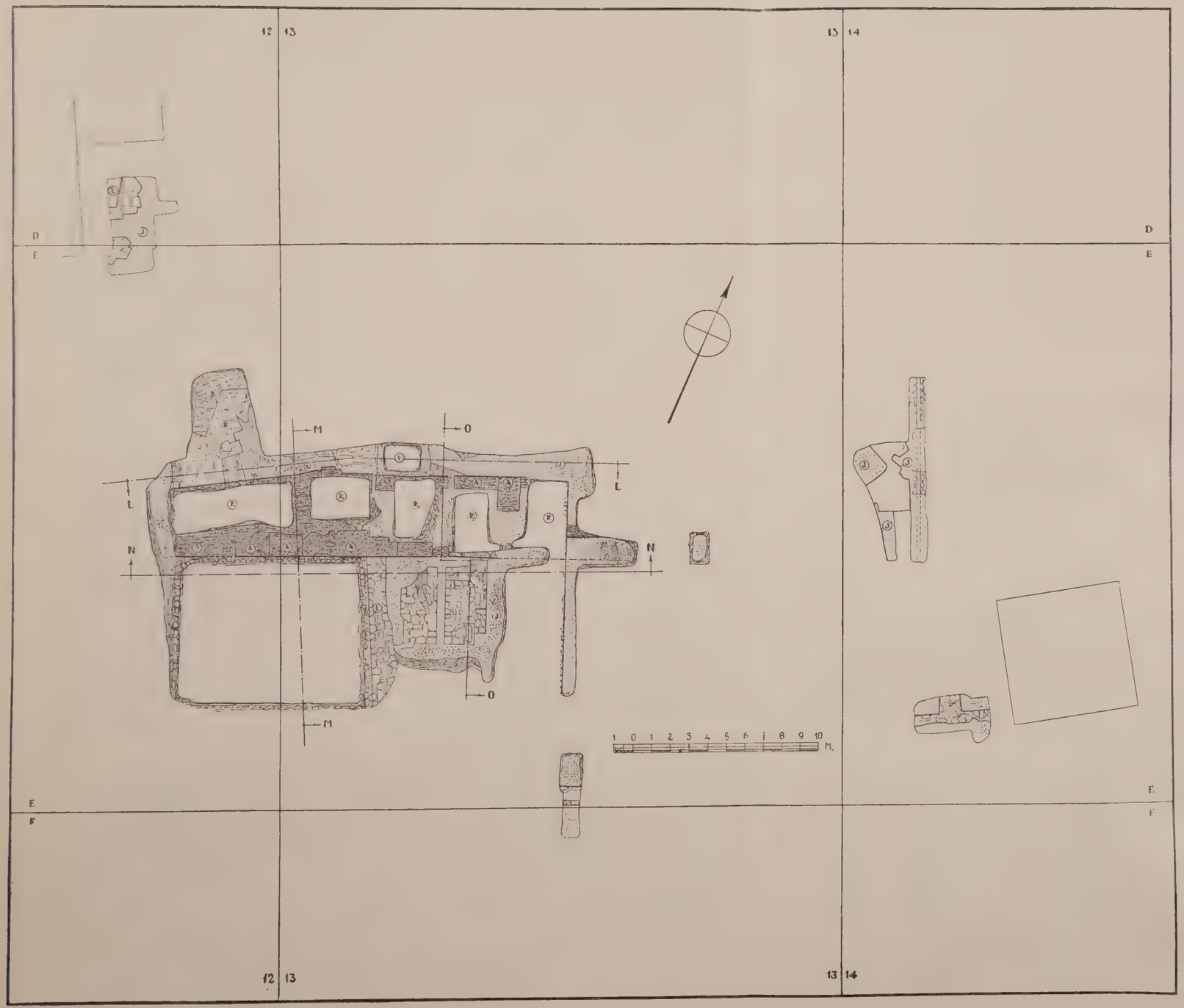
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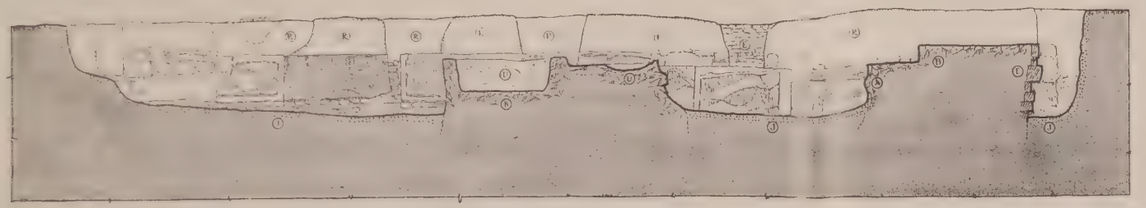

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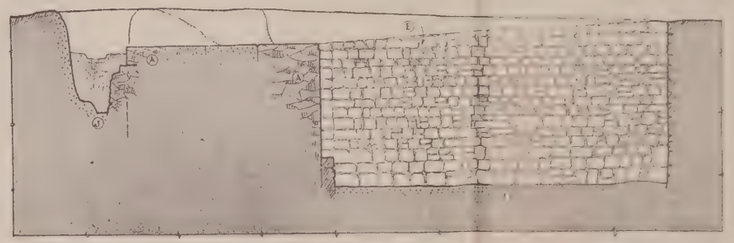

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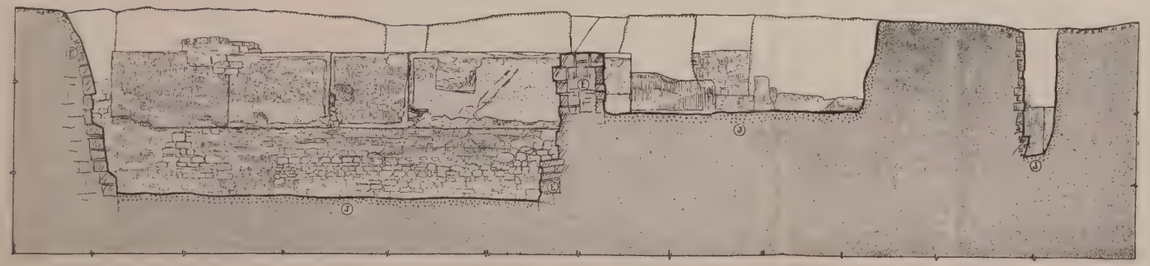

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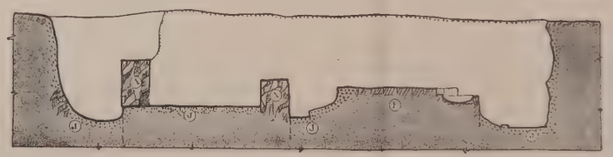

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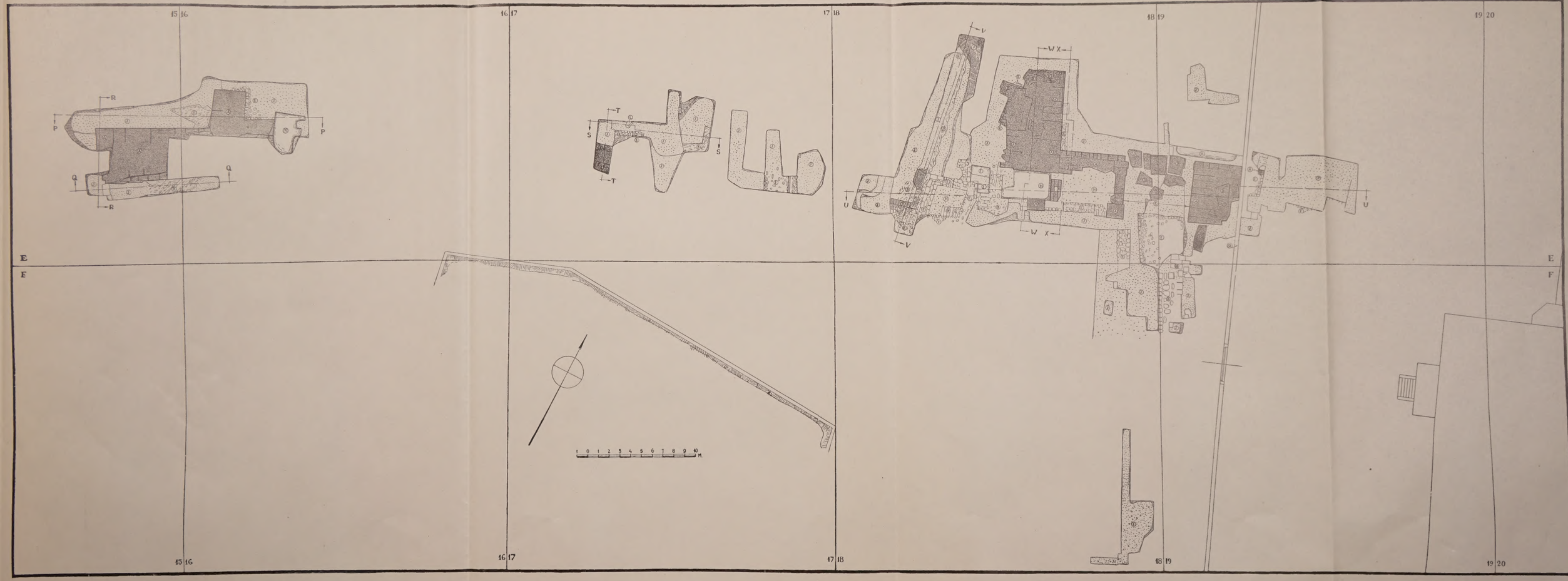
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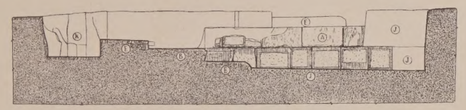

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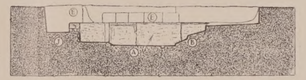

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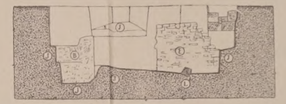

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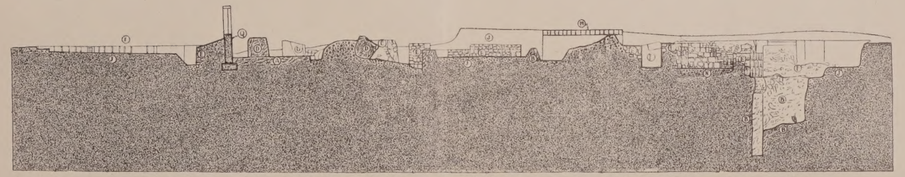

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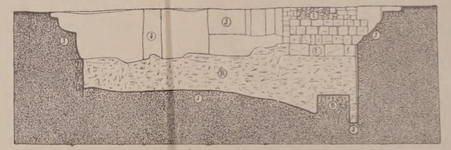

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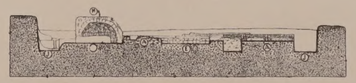

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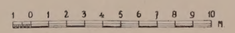
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